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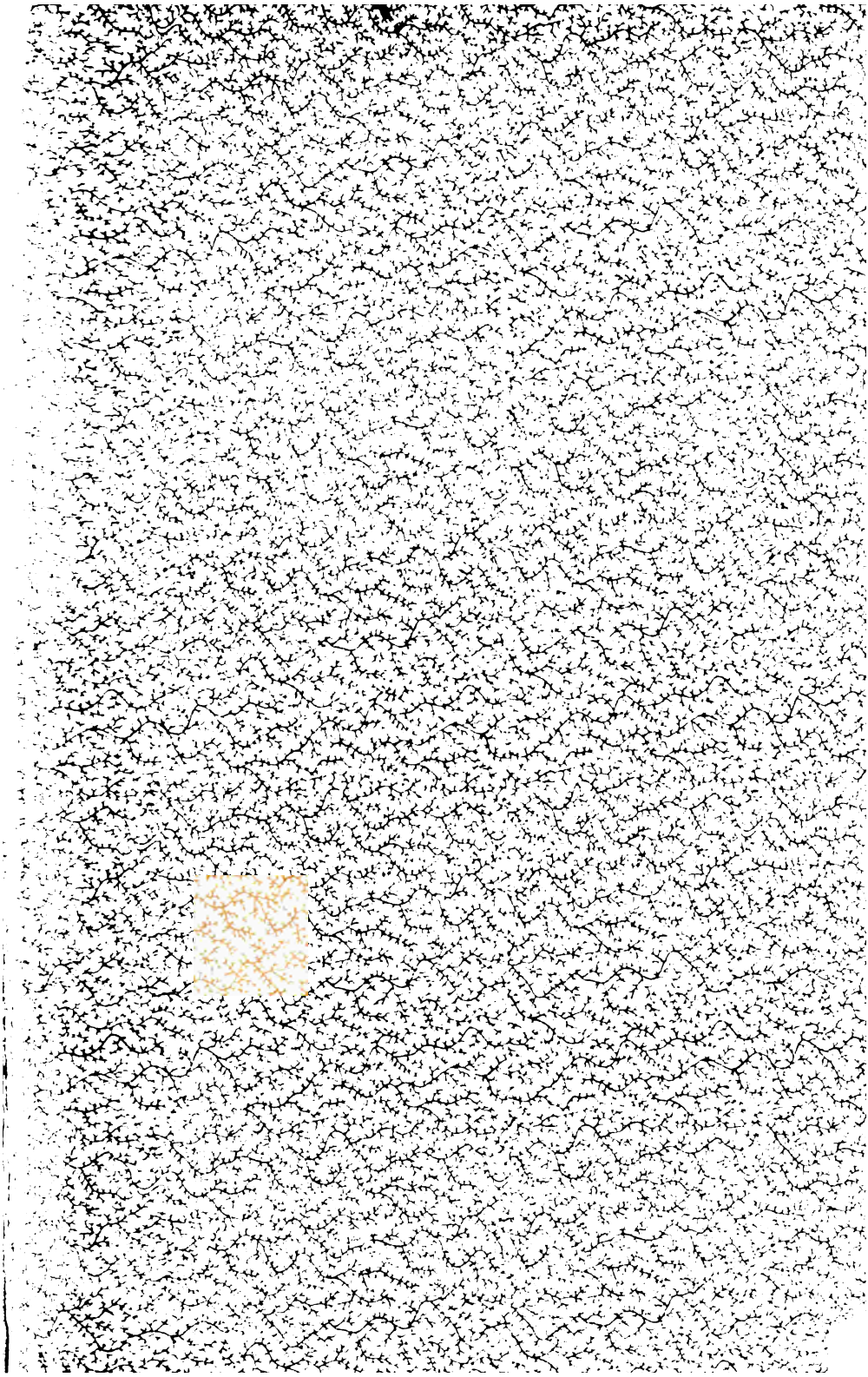
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HISTORY

OF

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT:

ON THE LINES OF

MODERN EVOLUTION.

BY

JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER.

Author of

"Civilization and Progress,"

"My Inner Life," &c., &c.

VOL. III.

POLITICAL: EDUCATIONAL: SOCIAL: INCLUDING AN ATTEMPTED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE POLITICS OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND AMERICA FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

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To

THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY, M.P.,

in recognition of my deep indebtedness to his writings,

and in admiration of his high political integrity,

I DEDICATE

THIS VOLUME.

ПЛКУВА
МВПС
МЕЛАОВК

PREFACE.

I HAVE written this, the Third volume of my History of Intellectual Development, before the Second, partly because of the increasing difficulty, owing to my weakened eyesight, of pursuing the minute research necessary to the Second, and partly because in the event of my not being able to continue the series, I am anxious to put before the reader such practical conclusions bearing on present day affairs—Politics, Education, Government, Society, and so on—as follow out of the particular standpoint which I have adopted, namely that furnished by the history of the Evolution of Civilization as a whole. But although I am bound to admit that the present volume would have had a more systematic basis for its conclusions had the Second volume already been published, I am not sure that the particular arguments used in this, would have been materially strengthened, or that readers whom I have failed to convince by the amount of historical detail which I have here adduced, would have been any the more likely to be convinced by the detailed account of the evolution of European Civilization from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the present time, which was to have been the subject of the Second Volume. Indeed were that volume already published, it is questionable whether I should have drawn on it for more historical illustration than I have given here.

In issuing this volume dealing entirely with Practical Problems —the suggestion of which I owe to Mr. John Morley—I have much pleasure in ackowledging my indebtedness to the various friends who have been good enough to look over the MS. for me and to assist me by their suggestions and criticisms on points of difficulty; to Mr. G. P. Gooch, late Scholar of

Trinity College, Cambridge, whose encyclopædic knowledge, as evinced in his recent work 'Annals of Politics and Culture,' has been of the greatest service to me; to Mr. Ion Perdicaris, whose wide general culture and unique position at Tangier for the observation of the habits of thought of Eastern nations, as well as of certain aspects of Continental Politics, have rendered his suggestions of great value to me; to Mr. C. F. G. Masterman for his criticisms from the point of view of the younger and more enthusiastic spirits who are endeavouring from outside the walls of Parliament to shape Public Policy to moral ends; to the Hon. Geo. F. Parker, late American Consul at Birmingham, who for years the associate of Cleveland, Tilden, and Bayard, in the inner circles of American Politics, has, since his residence in England, made the difference between English and American Political and Social Life a special subject of study—to him I am indebted for many pregnant criticisms and corrections of my views on America in general and in detail.

I am also glad to avail myself of this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness and thanks to one or other of the above friends for assistance in the production and publication of the several volumes of this series.

J. B. C.

London, May, 1901.

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By John Beattie Crozier.

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NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ILLUSIONS OF HISTORY.

IN this, the Third Volume of my History of Intellectual Development, I propose to ask the reader to accompany me through yet other divisions of my subject, namely, the Political, Social and Practical, with the object mainly of determining to what extent, if any, a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization in general and especially of its main trend and tendency, can be of service to the Practical Statesman of To-day. I am aware of course of the deep distrust which is generally entertained for Speculative Thought when it seeks to enter the domain of practice, but I must confess that did I believe that a knowledge of the Past would be of no use for practical guidance in the Present, I should regard the years I have spent on my former volumes as a waste of time, and the results achieved as but a vicious or idle pedantry. But I do not share this distrust, and it is with the object of indicating somewhat in detail the way in which I think a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization in the Past may be serviceable to the Practical Statesman of To-day, that this work has been written. And that I may get the subject at the angle best adapted for determining the question, I propose in the first half of this volume to exhibit some of the now generally admitted errors in the Practical Statesmanship of the Nineteenth Century, from which the nations might have been saved had

their Statesmen had a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization to guide them. This done, I shall then hope to exhibit the practical value of the principles which have been disengaged in the course of the discussion, by applying them in the outlining of a reconstructive policy for the Twentieth Century for England, France, and America respectively, where their correlation and interplay as well as their adaptability and flexibility can be abundantly tested and seen. But before entering into the general considerations which make it antecedently probable that a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization will one day be as necessary to the Practical Statesman as Science now is to the Inventor and Captain of Industry, we may observe in a general way that of all the arts of life, that of Government or Statesmanship, with the complex machinery of means and ends which in these later days it involves, is the only one that is not able to call some corresponding Science to its aid, but still remains tied to a hap-hazard rule of thumb in which men's chief stay is the vague and general hope that if they do the best they can, Providence or Fate will bring them out right in the end. Navigation, for example, with its pole-star, compass, and charts, has been for ages dependant on Astronomy; engineering has always kept in touch with mathematics, steam locomotion with physics; medicine, manufactures, agriculture, with advances in physiology and chemistry; and when practical difficulties have arisen and have proved insurmountable in the existing state of knowledge, these arts have had to wait for new discoveries in their related Sciences, to start them on their way again. But it is not so with Statesmanship and the Art of Government which have remained where they were from the time when Plato complained that it was generally felt that although cooking and shoemaking required some special training, the government of men might safely be left to the first man who should happen to come along, and who without previous experience should have the gift by means of words alone of making the worse appear the better

reason. Now, in reference to this it may be said that during the long ages in which territorial conquest was the main concern of tribes and nations, Statesmanship was able to get on sufficiently well without the help of Science of any kind, unless, indeed, it were such science as bore on the art of war, as, for example, when the Roman legion superseded the Macedonian phalanx; the barbarian cavalry the legion; Swiss infantry with its pikes, the coats of mail of chivalry; and gunpowder and artillery all that had gone before. There was the enemy, with his lands and possessions, and the primary object of the Statesman was to conquer him and get hold of them as quickly and effectually as possible. Now, this period of Aggressive Warfare, as it is called, extended over many ages, and with the exception of certain intervals during the Roman Peace, continued uninterruptedly down to the fall of the Eastern Empire and the close of the Middle Ages. From that time onwards the nations of Europe have occupied lands limited practically by the same boundaries of river, or mountain, or sea, modified here and there, perhaps, by changes occasioned by differences of race or religion. Wars, in consequence, for purely territorial aggrandizement have ceased; instead of being national in character, they have become mainly personal or dynastic; and are followed not so much by loss of territory as by loss of treasure or prestige, by the frustration of personal ambitions, or by changes in the *personnel* of Government merely. War, in a word has become Defensive; the object of Statesmanship being to maintain the *status quô*, and preserve what is called 'the balance of power,' by such cleverly devised combinations among the several States as were calculated to reduce the power of any one or more of them that threatened to become overweening or oppressive. For this period of Defensive Warfare, too, it is evident that little or no Science either of History or of anything else was required, the main reliance of Statesmen being on diplomacy, as with Henry VIII. or Elizabeth; on tenacity and force of character, as with

Charles V.; on dissimulation, cruelty, or intrigue, as with the Borgias and the Princes of the Italian States; and to these, the arts alike of Emperors and Kings, of Popes and Cardinals and petty Princes, Machiavelli and Bacon gave merely the literary and philosophical expression. And this period of Defensive Warfare, too, with its Diplomacy and Balance of Power, its considerable dynastic but petty territorial changes, together with its long wars for colonial expansion, continued for several centuries and came to an end with the French Revolution. Then followed the *entr'acte* of the Napoleonic wars, carrying abroad throughout Europe on their swift wings a new and burning Political Evangel, and baptizing the exhausted soil of Feudalism with the redeeming grace of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality—a spiritual Utopia which once here, like Christianity itself, can never again be wholly eradicated from the hearts and imaginations of men. But these wars rapidly degenerating into mere instruments of personal ambition, were as suddenly extinguished, and the *status quô* which had been racked and dislocated by territorial aggressions, was after Waterloo re-established again as before. From that time Civilization has entered on a new stage, with new objects and wider aims; and it is only since then that Science in the shape of the Evolution of Civilization, has been a real *desideratum* to the Practical Statesmen who are called to guide and control it. Wars, it is true, still continue, but they are neither Aggressive nor Defensive in the sense we have given to these terms, but are the result of Accident mainly—of chance misunderstandings and disputes sprung suddenly on nations by rash politicians or by the hand of Providence or Fate, and insoluble apparently except by war; of national or European interests pushed to the point of war but inevitable in the nature of things and required to round off legitimate historic aims or boundaries, as of German unity, for example, or Russian expansion, or Turkish dismemberment—and which but for certain bitter memories of humiliated national pride and for

the new era of Colonial expansion, with the rivalries it brings in its train, might by this time have been safely left to Arbitration. But even in spite of these drawbacks we may almost say that peaceful Diplomacy now does its work so well that most wars and rumours of wars may be confided to its automatic working, leaving the minds of Statesmen free to concentrate on the extent and perplexity of the purely social problems incident to this new time.

Now it is this shifting of the centre of gravity of Statesmanship from mere animated figures dressed up in sword-proof coat-of-mail for purposes of war only, to the real flesh and blood creatures that have slowly and silently all the while been evolving behind them; from War, in a word, and the plotting and counterplotting of Kings in their high game of Diplomacy, to the elevation and expansion in orderly evolution of the great masses of men;—it is for this, on which Europe has definitively entered since Waterloo, that the Evolution of Civilization is required, and it is on its ability to supply this, that will depend the extent to which Speculative Thought can be of service to the Practical Statesman.

Now, that this scientific Evolution of Civilization has not hitherto been forthcoming is due mainly to the circumstance that it is only now that the historical material essential to the purpose has in each department been so collected and sifted that the direction of the movement, and the variety of devices by which each new point of ascent has been reached, can be amply demonstrated. That this has all along by a true instinct been felt as a want is seen in this, that during the whole period Statesmen and Publicists have been reaching out into the Past for historical precedents to justify their policy in the Present, or to instruct them as to what is right or expedient to do or to avoid. And it is only because the histories, for reasons which we shall now see, have proved but broken reeds, and have one and all been found in practice to be either useless, dangerous, or positively mischievous, that Statesmen have had

to give them up in despair; and that the fairly intelligent 'man in the street,' as he is called, has so rooted a distrust of the historians, the professors, the savants, and the doctrinaires. And so the Ship of State for want of something better is entrusted to the pull of opposite parties, interests, and ideals, and kept in a kind of safe middle course, like a blindfolded man, by being pushed from side to side by the shoutings of the Press and by rows of Party Agents on either hand, stationed there for the purpose; which method indeed differs as much from a scientifically determined path along which to proceed with open eyes, as the method of the mariner without compass or load-star, tacking and drifting about at the mercy of wind and tide and on seas strewn with hidden rocks, differs from that of the mariner who sails by the chart, and who when he has to tack about to take advantage of wind and tide and to avoid rocks ahead, speedily returns to the course laid down for him again.

If then Civilization has now entered the stage in which the Art of Statesmanship will be as much benefited by Science and the Evolution of Civilization as the Art of Navigation was by Astronomy and the mariner's chart; and if the policy of the Present be conditioned at every point by the evolution of the Past, we have now to see more particularly why the great histories that have been produced mainly within the period we have been describing have proved useless for the purpose of Practical Statesmanship; and why when they have been applied to current politics they have proved most dangerous and double-edged weapons.

The period in question, which dates from the French Revolution, opened with the works of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, in all of which narrative is skilfully and pleasingly intermingled with philosophical and other reflections which serve to give continuity and coherence to the flowing web of events. Gibbon still holds his place as a classic not from the solemn pomp of his periods, the court-dress in which he habitually appears, or

the sense of the dignity of history which he so sedulously and jealously cultivates, still less from that happy eighteenth century facility in balancing and blending antithetical abstractions of virtue and vice which makes his work anything but easy reading to-day; but from his accuracy rather, his impartiality, his sense of proportion; and from the power he habitually displays of arranging and condensing the most confused and complex incidents without bias, distortion, or loss. But in spite of the masterly way in which he marshalls his facts, and the consummate art with which he weaves them together, he leaves the reader at the end of it all with no conception of any law or order in the march of Civilization as a whole. The truth is, he lived before the conception of Scientific History had been formulated or had begun to be practised; and except the most obvious superficial causes of events, his work gives us few data from which any but the most ordinary political platitudes on the decline and fall of States can be drawn. How different from Guizot's masterly and penetrating analysis of the consequences of the barbarian invasions of Goth and Frank on the political and social life of Gaul during part of the same period!

It is much the same with his successors. Whether you take histories dealing mainly with the evolution of Politics in single States, as those of Mommsen or Grote; or of Social life, as that of Green; whether you take those where the evolution of a single factor of Civilization is continued throughout its whole length, as those of Christianity, by Milman, Neander, or Harnack; of Industry, by the Economists; of Philosophy, by Hegel; of Physical Science, by Comte, or Herbert Spencer; none of them when taken separately can do aught but mislead, if allowed to so bias the judgment as to be prescribed indiscriminately for the political and social diseases of the present hour. Nor does it fare better with the histories of particular periods or countries carried crosswise, as it were, through the entire breadth of their activities and including most of the

effective factors of Civilization in their purview, as those of Ranke, Guizot, Green, Freeman, Carlyle, Macaulay, Lecky, Froude, and the rest. They are all, it is admitted, admirable repositories not only of the events and transactions of their respective times, but in a great measure of their causes and consequences also. And yet although they may disclose at times some truth that is applicable to the present hour, it is only by accident as it were. For the moral these histories are intended to inculcate derives all its force and efficacy, it is to be observed, from its applicability to the peculiar circumstances of the period from which it is drawn, and can have no necessary applicability to the changed circumstances of any other time. The truth is, neither special single periods of history, nor the evolution of special factors through many periods, neither historical parallels, nor historical contrasts, are safe guides to which to appeal for precise and definite political action to-day, whether the political moral they are intended to point be drawn from them by the historian, or projected into them by him. What, for example, did Macaulay extract from the history of the Revolution of '88, but the Whiggism of the early Victorian era; what Carlyle, from Cromwell, Frederick, and the French Revolution, but a benevolent despotism and a distrust of Freedom; what Mommsen, from the history of the Roman Republic, but an exaggerated Cæsarism; or Grote, from Greece, but unlimited faith in Democracy; what Robespierre, from Rousseau, Lycurgus, and the Ancient Republics, but belief in the omnipotent power of the State to remodel the world, with the shadow of the Guillotine and of the Terror in the background? All these men fell into their own ink-pots, as Emerson so happily expresses it, and not only drew from their studies as many different policies as there were special periods about which they wrote, but each stood around the ailing patient, clamouring for the favourite prescription of the day and hour—a vain demand, for nothing will avail for the purposes of Practical Statesmanship but the evolution of *all*

the factors, with their inter-relations and connexions carried along the entire length of recorded History, or at least along a sufficient length of it to give us the curve and line followed by their net resultant and outcome;—and this, you may as well expect to get from the separate histories I have mentioned, as to get the curve of the earth from a survey of the hills and valleys of Middlesex, or the laws of probability from a few chance games on the tables at Monte Carlo. For this curve of the evolution of Civilization is the product and outcome, it is to be observed, not of any one or more or even all of these factors when taken *separately*, but of the interplay of them all *when united and combined as parts of a single great organic movement*; examples of which we may see in abundance in the way, for instance, in which the political and social conditions of the Barbarian Invaders of the Roman Empire reacted on the Theology of the Church, this on the political power of the Papacy, that again on the political fortunes of every State in Europe, and all on private and public morality. Or again, in the way in which the politics of the Church reacted on its doctrines, these again on the Reformation, that on political liberty, and all, as before, on morality. Or, yet again, in the way in which new-born Physical Science affected Theology, that in turn Politics, and that again Morality, and so on.

But there are the great Histories of Civilization in general, like those of Comte, Hegel, Laurent, and Buckle, in which some attempt is made to trace the stages through which Civilization is made to pass;—what of these, it may be asked? If anything, they are both more useless and more mischievous than the preceding histories. In the first place, their generalizations are as much too large to fit the Politics of an age, as the law of gravitation is to regulate the circulation of the blood, and so are useless or altogether inadequate for the purposes of practical Statesmanship. But when the attempt is made to embody them in political action, they become, owing to the illusions in which they enmesh their votaries, positively mis-

chievous. Take Comte, for example. His theory of Civilization is that Society has passed through three successive stages, known as the Theological, the Metaphysical, and the Positive. According to this theory we are now living in the Positive stage, in which Industry is the dominating influence, and Science the directing power; in the same way as Aggressive Warfare and Theology were the leading influences in the first, and Defensive Warfare and Metaphysics in the second stage. Now as a naked generalization of the facts these 'Three Stages,' as they are called, are perhaps as broadly true as any that has as yet been suggested. But how, and in what sense, true? Only from the most general and distant point of view, as it were, from a point, that is to say, vague enough for all details to be lost, and where the differences of shades are visible only when taken over large areas; but not true from the near point of view which must of necessity be occupied by the Practical Statesman. They are true, that is to say, in the sense in which the contour of the earth is round when seen from the moon, but must be treated as practically flat by the animals and men that walk upon it, and have to get their livings from it. They are as useless, in consequence, to the Practical Statesman, as the outlines of a landscape seen from a balloon would be to the farmer or market-gardener. The truth is, all the elements of each stage of Civilization are present in every other, but they are mingled in different proportions. Over one entire interval of many ages Aggressive Warfare is so pronounced, as we have seen, as to overshadow the rest and give name and mark to the whole period; over another, Defensive Warfare; and over the third, Industry. But of what use can this be to the Practical Statesman? None whatever; for at any given point of time, the differences between the state of society immediately before it, and that immediately after it, are so slight as to be, except in periods of revolution, practically imperceptible; and so any differences in political methods or aims between them must be almost imperceptible also. But

Comte who knew that these stages intermingled everywhere, by figuring the whole period of Civilization as divided into three clean-cut stages, deluded himself and his followers with the illusion that these stages were so practically different that in passing from one to another you would have to change your politics as completely as you would your language in passing from one country to another, or your demeanour from the temple of one religion to that of another. Now this is as absurd, is it not, as if he had said that because the human body goes through the stages of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age, therefore we must make a complete change in our diet and habits and dress on certain fixed birthdays? That he deluded himself as well as his followers with the illusion of his own phrases, was seen in the fact that because he considered we had now entered the third or Positive Stage, he seriously proposed to erase within the period of a single generation all the landmarks of ages, and to uproot all the institutions of the Past. He would have divided up each of the European States into small republics, abolishing Kings and Nobility, and putting Bankers and Merchants in their places, substituting a priesthood of Positive Philosophers for that of the Church, and the worship of Humanity for the worship of God.

Now it is this illusion of separate Historical Stages that has led the German Socialists astray, and that makes them believe in all seriousness and simplicity that it would be a crime against Society to delay the renovation of the State according to the Socialist pattern for a day, when once they had power in their hands to effect it. It is this illusion in union with certain other fallacies, which makes them so potentially dangerous to the State, and which would render them actually so were they not kept from carrying their ideas into action by the standing menace of the military power. They are all the more dangerous inasmuch as they sincerely believe the time to be ripe for organic changes, and themselves to be proceeding not on revolutionary but on strictly evolutionary lines, and

their whole doctrine to be built up and buttressed by the teachings alike of History and of Reason. Their claims to the political succession in the direct line of evolution they announce with the pride of an ancient personal pedigree, and with the complacency of the judge or counsel who supports his ruling or his pleading by a long line of precedents. Industry, say they, with entire truth, has passed through several historical stages; first the stage in which the workmen were slaves, as in Antiquity; then the stage in which they were serfs, or were united in trade guilds, as in the earliest Feudal Times and the Middle Ages; and lastly the stage in which divorced from the soil and from the instruments of production, but personally free, they became a class of paid workers employed by capitalists as at the present time. And with this general truth as preamble, they point to the breakdown of Capitalism with its disastrous periodical gluts, its starving workmen, and its 'iron law of wages' which if left to itself must keep the workman at the bare subsistence point, and they ask triumphantly what can be the outcome of it all but the next normal stage in social evolution, namely that in which industrial operations shall be organized and managed by the State. To which we can only reply, true maybe, but not until all the other factors have come up into line, and until, beginning with small local or municipal groupings, the advance has been made gradually through larger and larger combinations until in time we come to the State itself, the supreme executive power. And we ask them in turn, Why now and at once, even if the power were commensurate with the will to execute it? Evidently that old illusion of the clean-cut historical stages which we saw was so disastrous to Comte's scheme, as if in stepping across from one to the other you were stepping across a gulf as great as that which separates Russia in manners and habits from China; instead of, as is the case, each stage gliding into the next imperceptibly, and the changes necessary in industrial methods and administration being so slow and

gradual as to be appreciable only after long periods of time. But the faith in their scheme which has been engendered by this first illusion is confirmed and stiffened by others. The first of these is that because Capitalism sprang into existence full-blown at the end of the last century and in the course of a single generation, therefore there is no reason why it should not, like a hostile encampment, strike its tents and depart as abruptly as it came. Now what is forgotten or overlooked in this is, that the sudden rise of Capitalism to its maturity was due to the invention within a few years of the spinning-jenny, the power-loom and the steam-engine, products of genius all, and without which indeed the Factory System, in which the workmen are huddled together in barracks, and deprived both of the raw material and the instruments of production, could not have arisen. And it is forgotten, too, that if Capitalism were to depart as quickly as it came, and Production were to return to its old methods again, it would be because other inventions were forthcoming which would bring the workman in contact with his own raw material and instruments of labour; which inventions, too, would be the products of genius, and must wait on the element of Time. But if Production, on the other hand, is to advance to the Socialist Ideal, and huge aggregations of Capital instead of being done away with are to be taken over by the State, it will only be in the way in which everything that is to be solid and enduring in this world, from a house to a new religion, must be built up, namely from the bottom upwards through regular stages, by laying a foundation first among small groups at the base of the industrial edifice and proceeding upwards, not from the State downwards. But this which is the veriest platitude of human experience is lost to the Socialist by reason of another illusion in which he is immersed, namely that because in the ages in which the main concern of nations was War, and the relations of men were summed up in the simple connexion of master and slave, master and serf, when there were none of those subtle and complex

relations between all the parts of the Social and Industrial Organism, making it like a delicate and complex machine, which exist to-day; because in those old days despots and kings so ruffianed it over one another by brute force alone, that a single battle often decided the fate of nations, and changed at a stroke the old order, bringing in the new, the Socialist imagines that it might be so now; forgetting that in the old days when men were almost chattels, nothing was changed but the masters, as in the case of any other transfer of mere property, whereas the complex relations of free individuals in the social organism at the present day are so delicate and inter-connected that you might as well hope after first smashing your watch to replace it at a moment's notice by an entirely new invention for measuring time. But for the present we may remark that when Trades-Unions and Co-operative Societies shall have completed their organizations, and municipalities have taken over the industrial control of the ordinary necessaries of civilized life, when gigantic combinations and 'trusts' shall have covered the industrial field with a complex network of inter-related industries, and reduced them to solidarity under a single central management; when all this shall have been securely established, and when, most necessary of all, the Socialists have got rid of the delusion that the hierarchy of the world is to be rubbed down to an equality by putting men of genius, inventors and organizers, on a level with cow-herds and coal-heavers, by making their remuneration a matter of what they call 'labour-time' only; when all this happens, then will German Socialism come in by a natural evolution, but not till then.

It is illusions like these of the Historical Stages and their accompaniments that have ruined the value of Philosophical History for purposes of the Practical Statesman; and in the case of Socialism would, if widely embraced, become a source of real danger to the State; and that, too, however excellent much of its programme may be as an Ideal held before the

minds of men to lead them on to that higher goal to which it is the aim of all political and social organizations to attain, namely the elevation of the masses of men, and the giving of ever greater range and expansion to the human spirit. And it is these and the like historical illusions which we contend ought to be rendered impossible in the future by a scientific knowledge of the true course of Civilization in the Past; a knowledge not to be got by mapping out its whole course into a number of stages, dividing these off from each other like separate fields, and running a number of generalized abstractions through or over them, but only by keeping close to the trail of all the factors combined, as seen in the concrete facts of History.

In the next chapter we shall consider the illusions into which the Practical Statesman is likely to fall when left to his own devices, as it were, and when restricted to that knowledge of men and things only which can be got from the Present World, without being checked and corrected at every point by a knowledge of the evolution of Civilization in the Past.

CHAPTER II.

THE ILLUSIONS OF THE PRESENT.

IF in the last chapter the reader may have felt that we were unduly sacrificing the Political Historians to the prejudices of 'the man in the street,' the 'practical man' as he is proud to call himself, the man who believes that the politicians who spring up like gourds by echoing some catchword of the hour, are the only true Statesmen, let me hasten to make what amends I can by saying at once that the Practical Politician who has no historic sense, who thinks that all knowledge of the Past is a schoolboy pedantry, and that all that is wanted for Statesmanship is an accurate and exhaustive knowledge of the facts as they exist in his own day, is in quite as bad a plight. And for this reason, that there is no course of Political Action as seen from the standpoint of to-day alone, that is not liable, as we have already said, to have its flank turned, and to have to submit to modification or revision by the side-lights thrown on it from a knowledge of the evolution of Civilization in the Past. This I affirm the more unhesitatingly inasmuch as in the first volume of this series, the volume on "Civilization and Progress," I took as my point of view precisely that of the Practical Statesman, and attempted a general theory of Civilization and Politics from the standpoint of to-day alone. The reason I did so in that work was because I saw that general truths could be grounded more solidly on facts which

can be seen, handled, and verified by ourselves, than on any dim and uncertain records which have come to us from History or tradition. And the reason I have taken the opposite standpoint, namely the historical, in this volume, is that I found the standpoint of to-day alone, insufficient for my present purpose. For when I began to apply the general truths of my first volume to definite *points* of time, for the purpose of finding the path along which Civilization had moved, I was confronted and hampered by a number of institutions, customs, beliefs, prejudices, ideals, which had come down from the Past and had encamped on their way, as it were, in the Present; some of them young and vigorous, others old and losing their vitality, some good in themselves, others bad, but none that could be properly handled without a knowledge of their history, relations, and pedigree; any more than a bridge could be thrown from stage to stage across a river without a knowledge of the relative strength or weakness of the various girders, abutments, and points of attachment of the parts already constructed. In the mere Present, when cut off from all that has gone before, there is as much uncertainty and illusion as there is in a twilight seen through a window on suddenly awaking, and which may be either a joyous herald of the dawn or a foreboding of the approach of the night. Whether old institutions are rising or declining you shall no more know from the Present alone, than you can know that the grass grows from a single snapshot taken at it. And as for the natural relations existing between these various institutions when in action, you can no more see them truly from any given point of time, than you can the natural motions of a running horse from its instantaneous photograph. The effects of slavery, for example, on the great ends of human life can be better determined and realized in the abstract from direct observation and inspection than from any amount of history and tradition; but the question as to what you shall do with the slavery existing *at any given time and place*, whether you shall abolish or preserve it, will depend

entirely on the point reached by the nation or tribe in question in the curve of Civilization, and would be differently answered in Ancient Greece or Rome than in the United States of to-day, in some wild African tribe than in Modern England.

Now the reason why the Practical Statesmen who are immersed in the Present—that is to say in the ideas and impressions derived from the generation alone in which they have been born and brought up—the reason they cannot be safely trusted with the management of the complex and inter-related machinery and institutions of Modern States is that there are a number of illusions into which all men must fall (and especially all young men), who are imprisoned, as it were, in the present hour, and who, like men confined to a many-sided room lined with mirrors, sit in a kind of enchantment, not being able to get a fixed point outside themselves to help to determine their whereabouts, and to enable them to correct illusion by reality. In the present chapter my aim shall be to point out a few of these illusions and by placarding them like suspects or impostors, to so discount their misleading associations and influence for the younger generation as to disarm them of their power to do mischief in the future.

The first of these illusions which I shall mention, and one into which men fall who live in the ideas and impressions derived from their own age and generation only, an illusion which like the bias of self-love, colours or perverts all it touches, is that the particular state of Society into which they have been born—the institutions, the beliefs, the morality, the government, the customs, the ideas, the prejudices, and so on—is a *natural* state, as it were, and one which as having always been there in their time, only wants letting alone, to go on for all time; instead of being, as we shall see, a highly *artificial* product, made up of influences that have come down from the Past; some good, some bad; some losing in strength, some gaining; some getting weaker the farther they get from their base in the Religion of the far-off centuries that enforced them;

some, like the Morals of Trade, securing a firmer hold on the minds of men owing to the support they receive from the material and social conditions around them; some, like Physical Science, fed by all the winds that blow; others, like Theology, having now to live and breathe, as it were, in an almost exhausted receiver; some, like sexual morality, requiring reinforcing from fresh sources to avoid serious retrogression and decline; others, like Political License (the degenerate offspring of the noble stem of Liberty), requiring coercing, or suppressing—but all, as we have said, highly artificial products; the choicest and rarest among them, like a conservatory of exotic flowers, being only prevented from declining and reverting to the wild stock again, by the most assiduous and incessant cultivation. In other words, the Present is not, as the young and the uncultured living in it imagine, a caravan in which the spoils of all preceding times are deposited, and which in passing on to the future suffers little or no diminution or loss by lapse of time or decay; but is like a moving transport of food-supply rather, which becomes exhausted, or is eaten up, or goes bad, and which if it cannot be replenished in the generation or country through which it is passing, must be made good by the discovery of a substitute, or by tapping a fresh source of supply: as, for example, when the stock of Morality runs low from the dying out of the Religion on which it depended, it must be renewed from those conditions of life which can breed a public opinion binding enough to take the place of that Religion; or when refinement of Manners, again, and Polite Culture have been submerged under an influx of barbarism, they must be bred anew, like hot-house plants, in close and select coteries set apart for the purpose. Or to put the point in another way, we may say that the Present is not like a halting-place on a public highway to which caravans resort to deposit their goods for the night, and where all that comes is warehoused, and passed on intact the next morning; but is rather like a point on the surface of a sphere, where ascending and descending

influences, moral and social, coming from all points of the compass and at all angles, meet and intersect; some social and moral forces slipping down the incline from their own inertia and loss of vitality, others by their buoyancy and super-abundant life threatening like balloons to rise out of reach, but all, like those plates which the indefatigable Mr. Maskelyne keeps spinning together at once, requiring guiding, stimulating, repressing, and keeping together, by an ever active vigilance. And as the question is not the number and contents of the caravans encamped at the cross-road of the Present, but of their direction and destination, it is evident, is it not, that this control cannot come from any knowledge of the mere Present, however accurate and exhaustive it may be, but only from knowing whence each institution or influence comes, and tracing it back through the stages of its particular history to its cause and origin in the Past. And this it is equally evident is beyond the scope alike of those older politicians who have risen to power by echoing some popular shibboleth of the hour, 'three acres and a cow,' 'dishing the Whigs,' 'the poor man's beer,' 'Tory Democracy,' 'the land for the people,' 'the Church in danger,' or what not; and of those who from their youth and want of historic culture have neither had time to see the fluidity of the institutions that stand seemingly so fixed and rooted around them, nor to realize by the passing away of the figures and ideals of their boyhood, the flux and decay of all mortal things. A glance at the contents of a few of these caravans encamped around us at the present time, and which contain the institutions, the customs, the morality, the culture, of the time, will serve to illustrate and enforce the position I am striving to maintain.

If we take Religion, for example, and those codes of Morality which have grown out of its creeds, and have their roots with them in the far off Past, what shall we find? Why I have seen in the short space of thirty years, the Calvinistic Theology in which I was nurtured, and which in my boyhood still stood

fronting the inroads of scepticism, as the granite rocks of Scotland do the German Sea; I have seen this Theology which seemed grounded on the everlasting adamant and destined for eternity, eaten away to a hollow shell, and with it a great part of the social morality which grew out of it and had its roots firmly and deeply intertwined with it. Where now is that Calvinistic Sabbath under which in my boyhood I groaned, with its solitude and gloom, its melancholy psalms and its enforced renunciations of warmth, comfort, and even of food. And the belief in Predestination and Hell-fire which sustained it, and over which for my godlessness and sins I was shaken nightly? Gone as a nightmare and hideous dream. But not these only and the Theology which enforced them, but gone also is the legitimate interest in all those parts of Science and Philosophy which were believed to bear on them, whether as condemning or as seconding and enforcing them. For it is not to be imagined that the masses of men wanted either Science, Theology, or Philosophy, for purposes of self-culture and for the love of truth for its own sake. It is only in highly sophisticated ages like the present that these things, like cut flowers and works of art, have become necessaries of life to the few. At the time when Theology, or Philosophy were in their prime after the Reformation, men went to them for real and pressing personal and private ends, and mainly to get helped to a belief that would relieve their spirits from the ever-pressing incubus of Hell (the simple and pure in heart alone excepted), in the same way as they went to Astronomy, Chemistry, and Mathematics, not for love of their abstract truths, but for help to guide their flocks, learn their fortunes, measure their fields, steer their ships, or find the stone that would turn all things into gold. It was the same with Morality. Men did not pursue truth-telling, monogamy, respect for human life and for the property of others, for their inherent abstract virtues, but for their own comfort and safety, material and spiritual, in this world or the next. Nor did women embrace chastity as a

spiritual setting to their physical beauty, or to help them to a life in the Ideal; on the contrary as Renan says, tens of thousands of them had to be stoned to death before adultery could be got recognized by them as a crime. And when the question was transferred from the Jewish to the Pagan world, it cost the Catholic Church twenty generations of organized effort to get this same adultery regarded as a mortal sin, and chastity engrafted like a flower on the impure stem of Paganism. Indeed so vast and complex a machinery and organization of means did it require to root and establish it—monasticism, conventualism, Hell-fire literalism, fasts, flagellations, and vigils; dogmas on Purgatory, on Merits, on Indulgences, and on the nature of the Virgin Mary—that the Church groaned and laboured under the weight, and in the end bent and well-nigh broke beneath it. And yet, I have seen this sacredness of the marriage-bond and of chastity within the limits of a generation fall from its high estate like a star, and be so lightly esteemed that propositions for its relaxation, modification, or abolition are discussed between the puffs of an evening cigar as lightly as if it were a change of garment merely, from which we could change back again as easily, if it did not suit. As if when the Religion that gave it life and kept it sweet and pure were withdrawn, you had only to reach out your hand, as for a light, to rekindle it again. And where could this curious imagination come from but from the illusion of which we are treating, namely that the Present with its brood of institutions is a *natural* production which, like the rabbit warrens in Australia, only wants letting alone to ensure its own permanence and perpetuity; or is a purely *manufactured* product like a table or chair which can be replaced as often as it is broken; instead of being, as we have seen, a highly artificial product of cultivation and care, which if neglected will speedily revert to its wild aboriginal stock again.

It is the same, too, with those codes of Behaviour which are the fine flower of civilization, and which distinguish the

European races from the dwellers in savagery and barbarism. If you take a number of decent well-living citizens of the ordinary standard of conduct and morality, you will be inclined to believe that if brought together *anywhere* they would behave as they had been accustomed and as they had been brought up to do; and indeed there would seem to be no reason why they should not, were civilization a natural and inherent quality like their physical stature; but if to test it you should bring them to some Klondike or other mining camp on the frontiers, you will find that they will suddenly behave as if civilization were but an ideal dream, will shoot 'at sight,' and will pursue the trail of retaliation and revenge, like the ruffians of the earliest barbarism. And the return will be as slow and laborious as the descent was swift and sure; for to eradicate the vices thus engendered will take decades for years, generations for decades, and centuries for generations. It is true there have been ages and conditions in which the ascending and descending currents that mingle in the life of every time and place are so happily blended and restrained, that a sunny equipoise, a meridian of balanced and harmonious activities is reached, which like Rome in the age of the Antonines would seem as if, like a sleeping top, it might go on for ever. But it is an appearance only; and when the finer balances are once disturbed, Society, unless provision has been made beforehand for compensating adjustments to reinforce its weaker sides, will run swiftly down the declivity to the abyss. So highly artificial a product is Civilization, and only to be maintained, like liberty, by eternal vigilance! Not a stone in its vast Temple, but has been fashioned and brought to its place by the blood and sweat of generations; not a custom, habit, code of honour or behaviour which now helps to restrain the animal directness of the primitive passions, but has had to be beaten into mankind by whips, and stripes, and scorpions, by war, by fear, by persecution, by torture, by superstition, by death; or by the regular machinery of organized power crushing in its weight,

and infinite in its ramifications. And all for what? To protect and preserve some infinitesimal variation tending to the good of the species which has been turned up casually or by far-off design in the course of evolution.

Even so trivial a matter as the fees which etiquette by an unwritten law of immemorial time prescribes for professional services—even these, if the golden bough of custom on which they hang is for a moment snapped, will, like the contents of an antique tomb on which the living air of the Present is allowed to breathe, melt away before the sight. This is well seen in the Medical Profession. The Medical Council a body of men paid by the profession and with the exception of a few Crown members elected by the profession, and so believed to exist to represent the profession, suddenly announced one day to the universal amazement, that in strict truth it was there to represent the interests of the public, and not of the profession at all! Upon this pronouncement a number of Commercial Insurance Companies, Medical-aid Societies, and Working-men's Benefit Societies, who had been receiving out of charity the services of the profession at a merely nominal rate (threepence or less a head was the average calculation), finding themselves thus aided and abetted by the supreme Council of the Profession, seized the opportunity offered them by the Council and threatened that if in the matter of the above fees the Profession attempted to make any organized resistance, they, the Societies, would put pressure on the Legislature to pass the laws necessary to enforce submission! Whereupon one of Her Majesty's judges who would have strained the Constitution till it cracked sooner than that a solicitor's fee should be taxed at less than the immemorial six and eightpence, on being called on to settle the fee in a medical case, with an excess of liberality laid it down that the fee for a fully-qualified practitioner was—one shilling! and gave judgment accordingly; and that too at a time when the old dog men who keep the rag-and-bone shops in the mews, and come out in the dusk to give

your dog a bolus, hold out their hands without apology for their half-crown, and cannot legally be denied! And so the charity which was ever the pride of the profession was made the means by which it was entrapped and undone, and its standing glory turned into its abiding shame; and all because a body of men could be found who imagined that their profession could be 'run' on the lines of a grocery shop and could retain its honourable status while the services of its members could be put up to auction and bought and sold like a pound of tea; at the same time giving the lie to those who imagine that what has always been within their memory will always continue to be and may be trusted to go on of itself, instead of being, as is most probable, a thin and shallow convention through which if someone kicks his foot the whole will collapse, and those who have been resting on it and trusting in it will fall through incontinently to the bottom!

But if we imagine the younger Statesmen to have escaped this first illusion by a wide culture and the possession of a keen historic sense, and the older ones in addition to this by the direct experience of changes occurring within their own life-time as well, we may expect almost with certainty their falling into the second illusion which I am about to mention. To make clear what this is, I may observe in passing, that one of the fruits of the study on which we are now entering will be, I trust, to enable us to see that Civilization advances by means of a series of great Abstract Ideals, or Ideal Abstractions, blazoned on high in front and on either side of its advancing course, to lead it on; and by their zigzag and opposing pulls helping to keep it steady on its even course between them. These ideals are, as we shall now see, *means* only or instruments, and the special illusion to which I refer is that men have in every age mistaken them for *ends*. In the earlier ages of the World this was not only natural, but it was right and necessary in order to lend force and efficiency to action; and even to-day it is almost inevitable. But as we shall now see, it is not

scientific; and if it continues must be attended with a vast and wasteful expenditure of labour and life. For these abstract ideals are embodied in organizations, vast, imposing, and far-reaching, and at a cost both in life and labour out of all proportion to the apparent importance of the end to which they minister, like those great Pyramids which were erected with the blood and sweat of whole nations to enshrine the mummied bodies of some poor Egyptian Kings. And not only is each of these Ideals embodied in some single organization, but like those insects that carry whole colonies of other creatures about with them on their legs and wings, it is embodied in a long series of such. In the Middle Ages, for example, you may see the vast and terrible machinery of Heaven and Hell furbished afresh every morning, in order to get an almost transcendental asceticism of the human body and spirit, and embodied in a network of monasteries, nunneries, religious orders and anchorites spread over whole countries; these again used as the elaborate means for the induction of charity, piety, and purity of life; and these again, co-operating with the Christian Ideal, as means for raising the general morality of Paganism and the Ancient World founded on the relation of master and slave, to the higher morality of Christianity and the Modern World founded on the brotherhood of man. And so with the rest. But while this series of Ideals lies on the one flank of advancing civilization like a vista of great mountain peaks, bright-shining from afar; on the other flank and as balance and compensation to them is the one continuous Ideal of Force, with its multiplicity of forms, military and civil, stretching like a continuous chain all down the centuries, and equally necessary to civilization so long as men have bodies and stomachs as well as souls. Now it is evident, that as Civilization marches across the centuries in pursuit of the first series of these far-shining ideals, dragging all this baggage of means and organization after it, and with each spiritual stride accomplished passing back again to the

opposite flank to inoculate the material ideals of Brute Force and Military Power with its new and added virtue; it is evident, is it not, that the prodigality and waste of resource that attend it must be immense; reminding one of the Chinaman in one of Charles Lamb's essays who burned his house down each time he wanted roast pork! And it is also evident that if Humanity could be trusted to act as its own Providence, and could continue the line of Civilization which runs like a gently graded railway track between these mountain peaks and ranges of opposing Ideals, there would be as great a saving of needless labour to Civilization from having to drag its impedimenta up and across these zigzag and laborious ascents to find after all only will-o'-the-wisps at the top, as there would be to Nature if the few seeds that are needed for fertilization could be placed where they are wanted by human intelligence, instead of being first scattered in needless and prodigal profusion, and then left to the caprices and chances of the wind. But as a preliminary condition it is necessary that these Ideals should be frankly recognized for what they really are, namely as lights to lighten Humanity on its way, not to draw it into them like moths; as means not as ends; to be pursued only so long as they are doing their appointed work, and then dropped; and not treasured like those weapons of the savages which instead of being thrown away when they are worn out, are hung up in temples and worshipped as Divinities, before whom hecatombs of victims still continue to be slain. Let us then take a few of these great Abstract Ideals by which Modern Civilization has been led, and with the light of Modern Science thrown back on them, endeavour to determine whether they were ever intended as ends or no. For this purpose I shall now briefly examine the Christian Spiritual Ideal, the Mediæval Ascetic Ideal, the Reformation Moral Ideal, and the Modern Political Ideal respectively.

Now the main test I propose to apply to these Ideals is that of Universality; for if any virtue, aspiration, or point of

character is to be regarded as an *end* for Humanity, it must be capable of a general and universal and not of a particular, partial, or limited adoption or application. And tried by this test these Ideals if universally practised would, as we shall now see, put an end either to Civilization or to Human Life itself. Like roses torn from their stems and made into bouquets for special purposes of decoration or adornment, they are, as we have seen, abstractions merely, and no more intended to have an independent life of their own or to exist by themselves than roses without roots and stems, or heads without bodies and limbs.

If we take the Christian Ideal in its original fulness and integrity we shall see that the command to give your coat as well as your cloak, and to turn the other cheek also, although quite natural and proper in a world that was about to end on the morrow as it were, as Jesus himself believed, and for a Kingdom of Heaven close at hand, would have been impossible in a world that was expected to continue; and would have ended if taken literally, (if one may say so without irreverence) in each man lying down to be walked over by all the rest, and the thoroughfare in consequence becoming so blocked that no one could pass; and in such a distribution of coats and cloaks that each would get his neighbour's instead of his own, and none be suited or satisfied! The Ideal was just what the world wanted as a *leaven* to so work on its imagination as to turn the Pagan relation of master and slave to the Christian one of human brotherhood; a mere change of sentiment, you may say, and yet like finding the man you met in a hostile country a brother instead of an enemy, most effective for its purpose. But to dream that any Christian Emperor, Constantine or another, could give effect to it by legislation,—as well expect him to decree that trees should grow into the sky!

It is the same with the Mediæval Ideals of Celibacy and Asceticism, which if made universal would, it is evident, have brought the human species to an end, and so have stultified and defeated themselves. They cannot, therefore, have been ends,

but only means for imbuing and impregnating the Pagan world with ideals of chastity and purity, and putting to the blush the sensuousness in which men indulged with the unconscious naturalness of brutes; and so helping to raise mankind to a higher stage. Even the piety, the devotion, and the prayers which this Asceticism involved were not, as Goethe saw, ends in themselves; for if made universal and absolute they would have soon brought the work-a-day world to impotence and stagnation; but were means only whereby by giving rest and peace and renunciation to the spirit, men might attain to the ends of culture, and to elevation and expansion of soul. And so too the Heaven which was the goal and consummation of it all, which led men on, and was seen as a bright haven athwart all the sorrow and pain of their earthly pilgrimage, even this Heaven, with its harps and pearls and its streets of precious stones which so ravished the saints, was as much an illusion as the sulphurous Hell itself which burned in their wake and drove them on.

Or take again the Bible which was erected into an abstract Ideal of Infallibility at the Reformation. Now this apotheosis was not intended to be an end, as we are partly beginning to see, but a means only of pulling down the vast superstructure of dogma which like a mediæval head-gear was erected on it, and towered toppling over it, and was now becoming an obstruction to advancing Civilization. For although, not a plank of Catholic Theology could have been dispensed with in the great work which it is its imperishable glory to have accomplished, namely the degradation of Pagan idolatry, vice, impurity, and brute-force as represented in their gods, and the replacing them by the idolatry, if you will, of virginity, chastity, sainthood, self-renunciation, and martyrdom, as embodied in Jesus, the Virgin, the Saints, and the Martyrs;—although this vast superstructure had done its work in *moralizing* the Pagan world, it was beginning itself to degenerate into a kind of Paganism, where men and women prayed and hung

offerings on the shrines of the Virgin and the Saints for all kinds of merely personal favours as they had done centuries gone by before the shrines of Venus, of Juno, and of Jove.

And lastly, if we take the modern abstract Political Ideals of Liberty and Equality of the French Revolution, we shall find that in themselves they are but glorious heads decapitated and detached from their trunks and limbs; inspirations only, but without bodies to give them a continuous life; and were they realized, 'Black Quashee' sitting all day in the sun eating pumpkins, the American Indian roaming unrestrained over trackless woods, or the Goths and Vandals before they left their German forests to overturn the Roman Empire would be their flower and consummation. But in a complex Modern Society with its network of inter-related mechanism and its hierarchy of functions worked by merely human souls (and not angels), Liberty and Equality pure and simple could neither exist alone or together. They were means only whereby the foremost nations of the world, and those hitherto baulked of their free action by despotism, should have the opportunity given them of realizing in their lives and actions that *inner* morality of the conscience and heart (as distinct from the *external* authority of the Church), which Protestantism had opened up before them; and which in countries, like America, prepared for them by their political antecedents and social conditions, by giving equal chances, laws, and opportunities to all, produced a variety, intensity, and abundance of life and vigour, and of industrial and social development, unknown in the world till then. But they were not ends in themselves; for when the statesmen of the French Revolution had cleared the ground and given them a fair field by the destruction of all the old institutions of France, and afterwards attempted to reconstruct Society in its fulness and entirety in their image, lo! they could not stand by themselves, and when they attempted to rise and walk, it only required a whiff of grape-shot to blow them into extinction!

Indeed if further proof were wanted that these Abstract Ideals or Ideal Abstractions by which the souls of men have been filled and impelled like sails by the wind, if further proof were needed that these were never intended to be ends in themselves but means only which Civilization uses for her steady advance and ascent, it will be found in the fact that they have in every age *divided* the allegiance of mankind only, not monopolized it, that they have only been able to exist *conditionally*, not absolutely; conditionally on the existence and presence of other ideals to antagonize, balance, and limit them. For just as one class of men can cultivate the arts exclusively, only when another class exists to cultivate the fields; or as one bird can hatch her eggs only when another is there to protect the nest; so these Abstract Ideals can continue to exist and to propagate themselves, only when other ideals (equally necessary when all sides of life are considered) exist by their side to shield and protect them. The sublime spirituality and ethics of Jesus with its peace-at-any-price Gospel, if one may call it so, could only work its regenerating leaven through society while the tramp of the legions was heard on the frontiers preserving the material peace and security of the Empire. The world could well afford the monks and nuns, the anchorites and the begging friars, who in their best and purest times sought to keep alive the ideals of chastity, purity and peace; the world could well afford to allow them their prayers, their vigils, and their fasts, as knowing well that the lusty worldlings around them might be depended on to continue both the population and the work of the world. The wintry rigours of the Calvinistic Theology, again, which otherwise would have passed over civilization with the grinding devastation of a glacier, might, in consideration of the precious cargo of morality which they carried, be safely pushed to their extreme in countries where there was always sufficient amenity, refinement, and polite culture in courts and in society to protect and nourish the arts of civilized life, and to balance the Puritan

harshness and sourness of the great body of the people; while the fiery propaganda of the French Revolution even, might be trusted not to become an *universal* conflagration, when most of the great countries of Europe still bent beneath the yoke of despotism and were held down by an iron hand.

And thus the abstract Ideals by which the ages and generations have been led and which fired the imaginations of men like comets by the vast organizations they trailed after them, are to be regarded as *means* only, as instruments for drawing civilization onwards and upwards through ascending terraces from stage to stage, and not as universal ends to be forced undiluted on society without being balanced at every point by their compensatory opposites on pain of instant disaster (as in the Peasants' War, the French Revolution, the Commune, and the rest); and must be adapted not to an abstract millennium in the clouds, but to a real environment on earth, which like human love is not a Platonic dream but is ever a composite of body as well as soul, of expediency as well as principle, of power as well as form, of force as well as ideal right.

And now in closing this chapter and bringing these observations to a point, we have to remark that the Present Age too like all the rest is led and dominated by a number of Abstract Ideals, which not the Philosophers, Preachers, and Publicists only have treated as ends but the Practical Statesmen also; and it is to this illusion, as we shall now see, that the excess, the extremes, the instability, the confusion, and the reactions of latter-day Politics are due. It is to this illusion also, we may remark in passing, that a corrective would have been found in a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization in general, had such been forthcoming. But that all this may be clearly exhibited in detail I propose to examine in the next chapter a few of these Abstract Ideals by which the politics of the past and the present generation have been dominated, to trace them from their origin to their maturity, and after taking a retrospective glance at some of the principal legislative enactments

of the last fifty years while they are still fresh in the memory, to show the way in which the Practical Statesmen have fallen into these illusions when off their guard ; all of which can be done more easily now that the passions of the time have died away and the results can be calmly reviewed in the light of half a century of experience.

CHAPTER III.

SOME POLITICAL IDEALS.

IT was in the Eighteenth century that many of the great political and social ideals that have dominated the minds of men in the Nineteenth—Liberty and Equality, Laissez-faire, Universal Suffrage, and the like,—took their rise. But although, like the butterflies, they all more or less suddenly assumed that ideal or transcendental form which gave them so strong a hold on the imaginations of men and which in the end made fetishes of them, they had nevertheless all gone through an elaborate but silent and unseen course of evolution in the grub state before putting on their wings. In this they differed almost entirely from the great transcendental Ideal of Christianity, which was fanned into a burning flame in as many years almost as the others had taken ages. For the belief in the coming of the Messiah although it had for centuries been silently moulding the moral character of Israel had done so in a direction quite the opposite to that of the Christianity which was to displace it, in the direction, namely, of outward observances, of a ritual and ceremonial written and unwritten, which were believed by the Scribes and Pharisees to be the most fitting garb in which to greet the Messiah at his coming. Indeed it was not till his coming was *at hand* that John the Baptist proclaimed that these ceremonial observances of fasts and new moons, of Sabbaths and circumcision, so essential if

the Jews were to be kept a 'peculiar people,' and the precious jewel of Monotheism which they held in trust for mankind were to be preserved from the inroads of the great Pagan flood which rolled and swelled around them; it was not until then that John taking up the rôle of the old Prophets proclaimed that what was required was not burnt-offerings or other material compensations for sin, but purity of heart; not fasts, but repentance; not food free from uncleanness, but baptism only, by pure water, as a symbol of that inner purity and repentance. But still the doctrine was cold, moral, almost ascetic, a matter of duty merely; to become effective for the world it had to be touched as by a live coal from off the altar; it had to get its wings. These it got from Jesus Christ who coming radiant from the Vision in which he saw the Heavens opened and heard himself proclaimed the Messiah, and from the passages in Zechariah of the lowly (not kingly) Messiah which seemed to confirm it, proclaimed in his ecstasy that the morality of the Kingdom of God was different from the morality of John; it was to be a morality raised to a higher plane, as it were, a transcendental or millennial morality, a moralty for those who were to be as the angels, not for the work-a-day world of men and women, a morality, in a word, not of mere duty but of self-renouncing love. Instead of giving your cloak only, as John would have recommended, you were to give your coat also; you were to turn to the smiter your other cheek as well; and, in brief, you were to be perfect like your Father in Heaven. And thus the Morality that was to transform the world, became in a moment, as it were, transcendental, and was blazoned on high as an abstract Ideal to lead the nations on; and from a grub had put on its butterfly wings.

It was different with the great abstract Political Ideals of the French Revolution,—of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, —which have so dominated the minds of men in the Nineteenth century, and which were the means of blasting more old-world

tyranny and oppression in a decade than could have been worn away by the slow denudation of orderly civilization in a century. These idealized Abstractions which in any case require a special and carefully prepared soil for their reception, and which in their combination as naked abstractions shall scarcely find a suitable home for themselves on this side of the millennium, took more than a century of evolution, before blown on by the excited imaginations of men they became the fiery ideals, the deadly fanaticisms of the French Revolution.

They began in France in a simple and natural way in the admiration expressed for the English Constitution with its personal and political Liberty by a few philosophers and men of letters, Montesquieu, Voltaire and others, who had become deeply imbued with the philosophy of Locke; aided and abetted in an academic and mildly *dilettante* way by some of the more thoughtful and cultured of the French nobility who found themselves, under the despotism of Louis XV., as impotent politically as were their own serfs. From them this admiration for Liberty was passed on to the body of cultured and able writers who had united themselves with Diderot in the production of the great Encyclopædia, and who marrying this admiration for English liberty to hatred of that tyranny and religious persecution from which they had all more or less personally suffered, and to those dreams of human perfectibility which then animated all hearts, caused it to burn in the minds of all with a pure and steady glow. But it was only when tyranny and grinding oppression began to show their hideous countenances in the hunger and starvation of the toiling millions, that this Liberty, which at the beginning of the century had arisen on the minds of men like a chaste autumnal moon, began to take among the more imaginative spirits a more fiery hue, and, in the face of the odious insolence of the privileged classes, united with Equality to become a devouring passion. And then it was that the minds of these men lingering over their dreams as over some escaped and departing love,

built up for themselves in their longing and desire, ideal air-castles in which to dwell, idyllic pictures of virtue and happiness, of good-fellowship and equality which they fondly imagined to have existed in some Golden Age of the Past, where in pastoral simplicity unsolicited by wayward desires, uncorrupted by courts, and unstung by the insolence of privilege and caste, men wandered at their own will, and without the intervention of priests worshipped God and Nature in their own way in all sincerity and truth.

Rousseau it was who of all his contemporaries was most possessed with this vision, and gave to it in all its phases its most perfect and finished literary embodiment. The Encyclopædists with Voltaire and Diderot at their head had thoroughly prepared the way for him, and had been his John the Baptists. By their fervent belief in progress and perfectibility through Reason and Intellectual Enlightenment, they had raised unbounded hopes in the minds of men; and by the putrescence which burst forth and splashed in the face of a gazing world when they ran their knives through the outer crust of the old régime and disclosed its inner rottenness, they had cleared the ground of any lingering belief either in Church or State, in King, Nobility, or Priest. On minds thus excited by Hope and prepared by Scepticism, Rousseau proceeded to plant his germs of a new society as in a virgin soil; and from them produced in the sequel a vegetation which, poisonous or not, was destined by its seeds and offshoots to overrun the world. But it was an entirely different growth from that which the Encyclopædists had in view. Their hopes for the future lay, as we have seen, in the enlightenment of the mind merely; and accordingly the ignorant millions degraded by servitude were waved aside as *canaille*, and as of no account. Rousseau, on the other hand proposed to regenerate the world not by knowledge imposed from without, but by the culture of the feelings from within; not by stimulating the Intelligence, but by completely altering the Conditions of life from which all this degradation and misery sprang.

His conception was that Civilized Life was like a plantation of trees too thickly set, where the individuals, like the separate trees, instead of growing in a natural way independent and apart and bathed in the pure air and sunshine of heaven, putting forth their leaves and fruit according to their own peculiar quality and genius, were so crowded together as to be self-destructive; those that in the struggle for fresh air had been able to push their tops to the light, overshadowing, starving, and sucking the nourishment from the rest; and all poisoning one another by their own exhalations, which in the shape of false beliefs and opinions, bad habits and customs, surrounded each like an impure atmosphere; the luxury and wealth of the Church poisoning the pure air and precepts of natural religion and Christianity; power and money destroying the primitive natural virtues of equality and liberty; guidance and protection turned by unnatural conditions into oppression and extortion; loyalty and obedience into hatred and lip-service, into flunkeyism and baseness of soul; each false and unnatural relation breeding its corresponding falsity of opinion or sentiment to justify it and keep it in countenance, and *vice versâ*. And for remedy what? To go back to the sparseness of early civilization and of primitive nature with its freedom and space for expansion and liberty was impossible, unless one were to begin by lopping off human heads as one would the trees in the plantation; and this, besides the loss to the world of all the good things that civilization has brought us, and which Rousseau freely admits, was not to be thought of. To transplant the excess to some vaster continent where there would be room for all, as the Pilgrim Fathers had found in America, was impracticable with a population of twenty-five millions; and anything less than a wholesale deportation would, under the existing *régime*, have but increased the misery and oppression of those who remained. There was nothing for it therefore, thought Rousseau, but to leave the millions as they were, and by means of artificial institutions to surround each with all the conditions

of a healthy life, as if pure air were to be forced through and among them instead of the impure currents by which they were surrounded; and so give that artificial sense of room, freedom, and nature, whereby they would preserve all the advantages of civilization without its drawbacks. The details of how this was to be done he has pictured to us with great fulness in his leading works, the new Heloïse, Émile, and the Contrat-Social. In all of them his object is to provide such an environment for the separate individuals as shall keep their feelings sweet and pure and their natures healthy, instead of merely cultivating their intelligences as the Encyclopædists would have them do. In the New Heloïse, in the form of a novel—a form of composition, we may remark in passing, which Richardson's Clarissa Harlowe had recently made popular in France—he sets forth the beauty of deep and simple love, of marriage, and of family life, and the sweetness of converse with nature. In Émile he gives us his picture of Education, in which he follows to some extent the ideas of Locke. He would have a child left almost entirely to natural feeling and instinct, with little or no external culture either from authority or teaching; he would have no pampering and yet nothing Spartan; no swaddling clothes, but to let it find out its mistakes for itself; no prejudices instilled into it, or knowledge imposed from without, but all left to its own self-activity and inner spontaneity. He would have it formed to good habits founded on sympathy and love, in a world in which, as in the "New Heloïse," there were to be few wants and little envy, and to unfold itself from within like a tree planted in a grateful soil and bathed in pure air and sunshine. In the same way, too, in the 'Confessions of a Savoyard Vicar,' which were included in Émile, he makes Religion itself a part of Nature and not a matter of argument or dogma; an instinct, not a catalogue of reasons; a spontaneous up-welling, in short, from the heart of the natural man uncorrupted by the world; the evidences of design not being the foundation of his belief in God, but belief in God finding

an added satisfaction in evidences of design and Good in Nature; Evil being with him, as with Plato, the result of the obduracy of the matter in which God works, nothing more.

Having charmed the world by these beautiful pictures of sweet and wholesome life in accordance with Nature, Rousseau profoundly influenced the Philosophers and Politicians by the doctrines of his 'Contrat-Social.' Here, too, his aim is still the same, namely to give free space and opportunity for each individual to put forth the flower and fruitage of his inner life and feeling in all purity and simplicity, and not to have his whole nature pinched and cramped and deformed, as in Chinese shoes, by social conventions bred of the crowded, corrupt, and unnatural mode of life which is the heritage of Civilization. And this room, as we have said, he would have us create artificially by means of political institutions calculated to give effect to his design; provision being made mainly for a modest pecuniary independence to each, equality of material conditions for all, and as the result of both combined, a brotherly sympathy and friendship pervading the whole society;—in a word for Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. But how, and by what agency? we ask. By making the People sovereign, says Rousseau, instead of Kings, Nobility, or Priests, as heretofore. And as the people would then be able to dictate each new law, and to control every act of jurisdiction and administration; and as further all alike would want the same things,—space, room, liberty, and equality,—why then should they not decree what they wanted? Lycurgus had clapped a brand-new set of institutions on Sparta, and these had lasted for many ages and had formed the people to their image and likeness. Calvin had done the same in Geneva; why then should the people themselves not do the like for France? Why not, indeed? Robespierre and St. Just believed it could be done, and had they not been interrupted in their work of cutting off heads by having their own prematurely cut off, they were about to decree all these things. Besides dividing up the estates of the

Nobility and the Church into small separate portions in order to preserve an equality of material and social conditions, as had already been done in the early stages of the Revolution, they were prepared to still further assist in maintaining Equality by abolishing servants and gold and silver vessels; to grant additional Liberty by allowing freedom of divorce, to stimulate Patriotism by having the children after they were seven years of age taken over and educated by the State; and to encourage Fraternity by decreeing that those who had no friends when they came of age should be banished! Good, perhaps, if they had only been legislating for a parish! But as John Morley says, it was one thing to legislate for a little handful of people like Geneva, quite another for the twenty-five millions in France with their different temperaments, faiths, customs, manners, laws, and modes of life; one thing, where, as in Sparta, the lawgiver was believed to be an oracle of the gods, another in the age in Voltaire. It was one thing, say we, where the people, as in Geneva, stood in such fear of God and Hell that they earnestly desired that their lives might be spent in doing all that was commanded them, another, where each was concerned that his neighbour rather than himself should abstain from aggression or sin; one thing, if what you wanted was an unchanging Eden where when once you had secured space and room, contentment, peace, and idyllic sweetness and simplicity of life for yourselves, you might expect them to continue so for ever, another, if you were to live in a world of progress and change where energy, courage, invention, enterprise, and genius were to lead the van, and where all change by its very nature must involve dislocation, aggression, disturbance, and the infraction of that sweet insulation in which each was to wrap and ensconce himself as in a delicious dream. It was one thing could the children of the twenty-five millions have been transported to another land and clime and brought back again educated *à l'Émile* and in the principles of the 'Contrat-Social,' another when your social structure had

to be continued like an old unfinished bridge, where each plank of the new portion has to be attached to one or other of the rotten piers, abutments, or points of support of the part already laid down; one thing, to destroy the old system when the millions were once educated in the new, another, to get them educated in the new so long as the old still remained standing; one thing, in fine, to destroy by force the old *material* conditions of society, to redistribute the land, and to new officer the State, another to destroy the nature, the religion, the habits, the opinions, the prejudices, and the traditions of men who were educated in the old, but had to form the new. It was all a delightful millennial dream doubtless, a beautiful picture which charmed the imagination and glowed in all hearts; if only these millions of human beings could by means of laws and institutions be so separated metaphorically from each other as to be seated at separate tables at life's feast, reposing like shepherds and shepherdesses in Arcadian simplicity without chance of distraction or care, innovation, collision, or change!

In the meantime, while the cultured and imaginative were thus filled with hope and in spirit were borne by it high aloft above all their cares—the Encyclopædists looking mainly to Enlightenment and Reason for their salvation, and the great bulk of the intelligent Middle-Class to these charming pictures of Rousseau of a *régime* of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity—in the real world Tyranny and Oppression squatted so close to the souls of men, that not even Rousseau himself with his magic wand could release from their chains the fairies that were to transform the world; and so Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality had for the present to be content to be admired and belauded from afar. To transform them into Ideals, to fan and blow them from principles into fanaticisms, from admirations into burning loves, from hopes into realities, from rights into religions, from political means and expediencies into fiery political ends loved for themselves alone—for this a conflagration

or revolution was necessary. And this was made possible by the inflammable nature of French society which resulted from a curious arrest of its material and social development at a given point, and which only wanted an opportune spark to set all in a blaze. The causes of this arrest need not detain us here; it is only necessary to remark that while in England the farmers, peasants, and inhabitants of the towns and villages had by the aid of the Kings and the Courts of Justice won their full liberties from the Nobility long before that body had become sufficiently powerful to be able to keep them down, in France, on the contrary, their liberties had been arrested by a coalition of the Kings and Nobility at a point little removed from serfdom; and there they remained fixed and stereotyped until the outbreak of the Revolution—a spectacle which had not been seen in a civilized State of the same extent since the break-up of the Roman Empire. Now it was this conjunction of Despotism and Tyranny with hunger and starvation, and a grinding economic oppression impossible to shake off by constitutional means,—it was this, uniting with the dreams of Rousseau of an age of virtue, simplicity, purity, piety, and peace, in which the best men really believed; it was this, and the refusal at last of the soldiers to shoot, which precipitated the Revolution—a revolution which under leaders possessed not only by the dreams of Rousseau but by his practical schemes as well, burnt its way through all its stages to its consummation, and in its death blazoned 'high on Heaven's immortal noon' as the rallying cry of the down-trodden and oppressed in every land, the watchwords of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality. And then it was that after their long course of evolution, raised to the transcendental pitch by fanaticism, they became abstract Ideals worshipped as *ends* and loved for themselves alone; shrivelling more tyrannies, it is true, and giving more expansion to the human spirit in years, than could have been quietly accomplished in centuries; but when mistaken, as they have been for the greater part of a century

since, for ends, becoming the source of much cheap statesmanship, and leaving, as we shall presently see, a heritage of difficulties and dangerous reactions for the future. For it was one thing to erect Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality into ideals by which to lead on the minds of men, quite another to erect them into political ends to be realized in their fulness now and here, and at all hazards. This meant Civil War, the Guillotine, and Despotism; not Progress, Evolution, and orderly Statesmanship.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME ECONOMIC IDEALS.

MEANTIME we must say a few words on the origin and evolution of the political cries of Laissez-faire, Freedom of Contract, Universal Suffrage, and the like, which in England after a period during which they figured as legitimate *means* for the attainment of certain definite political objects, were converted owing to their reverberation through the Press, into sacred political *ends*, worshipped for their own sake as Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality had been in France; and in the hands of Statesmen became the source of much confusion from which it is now seen that a true knowledge of their history and evolution would have delivered us. As for Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality themselves, there was no country, we may remark in passing, in which they could receive a colder and more distant reception than in England; no country in which it would have been more difficult to erect them into abstract Political Ideals to be pursued as ends, and worshipped for themselves alone. For to the full flowering of Ideals personal or political, it may be remarked, a certain strain or tension, as it were, of two equally active and exacting but opposite parts of our nature or condition is necessary. For Jesus and the Saints, for example, to inspire and sustain the most whole-souled devotion, you must look for dispositions in which an ever-present sense or consciousness of sin, or

feelings of deep personal humility, are abiding characteristics. For Love and Friendship in their highest forms to blossom, you must search for natures who are oppressed with the sense of loneliness or isolation, and who feel deeply the need of sympathy and of someone to whom to cling. To get Self-importance, Love of Domination, and the like raised to a transcendental pitch of inflation, look out for men, other things being equal, who have been bullied and snubbed in early manhood without daring to retort or reply; while for the true Purse-pride of age, commend us to the men who have carried the hod or handled the spade in youth. In countries like America where the equality of all men surrounds one like a sea, any title or distinction that holds out a chance of inequality or of escape from the dead level of social monotony, is felt after a time to be a god-send by all. To get Birth or Social Distinction raised to the due pitch of reverence, you must either be without the one, or have everything within your possible reach except the other; and so on through all aspects of life. And quite rightly and naturally too, for it is the only way the world has of righting itself when it threatens to become intellectually, morally, or spiritually lop-sided, as it were; the only way it has of keeping itself round and whole and of a relatively uniform moral fibre throughout, as it slowly and gradually wends its way up the long ascent of progress and civilization; just as Nature gets and preserves her general uniformity of physical type by making, as is so often seen, tall people love short; the dark, fair; the rough and strong, the sweet and gentle; and so on. So that in a general way one may say that those whose every physical want has been satisfied, whose every emotion has found its natural and appropriate outlet and satisfaction, every aspiration or aim its successful realization, can rarely be betrayed into fanaticism or into making any of these things their ideal.

And so it has been with England in reference to the apotheosis of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality. For how

could the cry of Liberty arise and become a fanaticism in a country which from time immemorial had enjoyed all the political and personal liberty that could come within the compass of its hopes or dreams; America having been but too recently only an oppressed colony to serve through its still greater personal and political freedom as an object lesson of discontent? Again, since inequality is as natural to man as equality, how could Equality raise a violent heart-throb in a country where society had always been divided into a hierarchy of classes whose general character, manners, and culture roughly corresponded for their age and time to the personal consideration they respectively enjoyed or to their measure of political power; while as for Fraternity, how could this be blown into an Ideal in a country where no insuperable barriers were erected as in France, preventing men from rising from one class into another by virtue of their talents or genius; where there was no oppression of one man by another, where all had equal access to the justice of the laws, and where there was little to awaken envy, hatred, or social discontent? Indeed taking the nation as a whole, there was nothing either within or without it, no inflammable material, for fanaticism to lay hold of; no yawning gulf between reality and imagination for an ideal Utopia of idyllic simplicity and virtue, like that of Rousseau, to fill in with its dreams and to tempt men to try and realize it by force; no deadly antagonism between Protestantism and the culture of the time, as there was in France between the reigning Catholicism and the school of Voltaire; no chronic danger of internal tyranny or of foreign aggression to create restlessness, suspicion, or fear in a country reposing securely in her island home on her own wealth and resources.

No, if England were ever to become the thrall of some abstract Political Ideal or Fanaticism, that Ideal would have to come from some other quarter than that of the Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality of the French Revolution. And so indeed it did. It came from the world of Industry, not of

Politics; it sprang from Economic, not Political or Social causes; although in the end and when the former had been blown into a white heat by the influences which we are now to pass in review, it drew the latter into it, until at last they were both smelted together into a common glow, and united in a common enthusiasm. But as factors in this their common apotheosis and consummation several distinct streams of evolution by chance or design met and conjoined; and it is to these that I am now about to ask the reader's attention. For our purposes these may be practically distributed under the heads of the Factory System, Trades-Unionism, Free-Trade, Mediæval Labour Legislation, and Political Economy.

The starting point and common impulse from which these various streams of evolution proceeded was the invention within the space of a few years during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century, of a number of machines which entirely revolutionized the old methods of Industry, and which have been the means of introducing into the statesmanship of the Nineteenth Century, problems unknown in the world before. These machines were the Spinning-jenny of Hargreave, the Water-frame of Arkwright, the Mules of Crompton and Kelly, the Power-loom of Cartwright, and last and not least important, the Steam-Engine with its common application to all industries alike. Previous to this, the occupations of spinning and weaving, of cutlery and hardware manufacture had been carried on under what is called 'the domestic system,' that is to say in farmhouses and in the dwellings of the thousands of small free-holders who still remained unswallowed by the large proprietors, but mainly in the numberless little homesteads rented for the purpose, and situated in the fields surrounding the great centres of industry. In these latter, little pasture-farms originally of from two to ten acres, all the processes of spinning, and weaving, and dyeing, were carried out; each householder having two or three looms, and employing eight or ten hands, men, women, and children; the product when finished being taken

to the markets held periodically in some of the neighbouring towns, to which merchants from the larger centres came to buy either for home consumption or for exportation to the Colonies or abroad. For ages the rule had been that the workman himself owned his own machine as well as the raw materials of his industry; but as the demand increased and there was difficulty in getting enough yarn from the spinners, the merchants from the towns began to supply the raw material themselves, and to give it out to the weavers; still later, they supplied not only the material but the looms also, which were now set up in the towns in buildings belonging to these merchants; so that there was nothing left to the workman but his labour. This, it is to be observed, was before the new machines had revolutionized the industry; and yet so long as the little homestead weavers scattered over the land held their own, wages were kept up and even raised to meet the increased demand of the ever growing population of the Country and the Colonies. The condition of the workmen accordingly, in spite of the rapidly rising price of bread, was one of comparative comfort, happiness, and content; and this continued during all the early years of the Factory System; wages being as much as doubled, to meet the enormous demand which followed the cheapening of the prices of the woollen and cotton goods by the new machines.

In the meantime the Steam Engine which had been invented years before, was being applied to the new machinery; and the factories which when water-power alone was used had been scattered about the country on the banks of streams, were now transferred and confined to a few of the great towns—Leeds, Halifax, Manchester, Bolton, and the rest—where an unlimited supply of labour could be picked up from the streets. And still the wages of the more skilled workmen were maintained, owing to the enormous increase of the demand. But when the Power-loom was invented and applied; and when the factory chimneys in consequence rose ever thicker against the sky-line, and vast populations of human beings drawn from all the

winds, swarmed in the long rows of dingy streets that lay alongside of them and about their base; and when the output, as was inevitable sooner or later, caught up with and at last overtopped the demand; then came those recurring periods of ruinous recoil in the shape of over-production, gluts, falling markets, half-time and stagnation; and,—what was unknown in the world before then,—wages from the sheer impossibility of regulating them in the jumble and confusion which the new machinery had caused, were suffered to be forced up and down at the caprice of the masters or according to the state of the market, as if the men had been bales of goods or sacks of coal. Seven centuries had come and gone since the men of these islands had fought hand to hand with the foreign invader; and meanwhile the labourer had passed by slow and gradual stages from serfdom to freedom; but he had all along been assured of a decent subsistence, either by his legal right as serf, or by wages fixed by Justices of the Peace acting as arbiters between master and man. And now after seven centuries of peace, war had again broken out, but this time industrial war, fought it is true with legal weapons, but all the more subtle and deadly on that account, and waged for the golden spoils which the new inventions were pouring out in sackfuls along the streets to be scrambled for,—and with issue in the event of failure, starvation. In the struggle, the Masters, by a curious conjunction of circumstances ill-timed for the Men, easily got the upper hand, and holding the men down bound hand and foot in the meshes of some old statutes and regulations which we are now to pass under review, maintained their supremacy for a century; and it is only now after this long period of conflict and oft-times starvation, that the workmen are coming within sight of that goal of a fixed and fair wage which is theirs by right, which had been theirs for centuries, but of which in the confusion and scramble of the Industrial Revolution they had been unjustly though at first unwittingly deprived.

The first of these mischances which caught the Workmen

and ground them as between the upper and the nether millstone was an incident which occurred just before the new machinery was introduced, namely the repeal of the old Acts by which magistrates were empowered to fix wages, while the law against the combination of workmen to raise wages was left unrepealed; and it was in the gap between these that the workmen were caught and crushed. In the Middle Ages when trade was largely local, markets and fashions comparatively steady, quality of goods easily appraised, and quantities required estimated with a tolerable approach to accuracy, prices were easily kept fairly level; and with the years of apprenticeship long, and the number of apprentices limited, a fair living wage it is evident could be fixed with something like justice and maintained with steadiness over considerable periods of time. And in fact this period of prosperity and comfort for the working classes continued uninterruptedly all through the Middle Ages and down to the middle of the Eighteenth Century. But with the growth of the export trade with America and the Colonies, qualities and patterns of goods of every shade and combination had to be manufactured to meet the tastes, the fashions, and the pockets of a great heterogeneity of nations and peoples; and when the competition to supply these markets grew ever keener and keener, it is evident that prices could no longer be foreseen or kept steady; and when in addition to this it was found that the apprentices could no longer be limited in number if the supply necessary to meet the demand was to be kept up, and that the labour of the men must be supplemented in various departments by that of women and children;—when we consider all this, it is even more evident that in the confusion of this heaving and ever-changing sea, wages could no longer, in the absence of any bureau of statistics and prices, be fixed without the danger of doing some grave injustice either to the masters or the men. The Acts, in consequence, regulating wages, which had not really been 'settled' since 1700, had, without any design

of injuring the workmen, to be abandoned; and the wages of labour were allowed to drift and settle themselves by the supply and demand of the labour market like the price of the raw material of the looms which the workmen served.

But even yet the men might have risen and righted themselves if free and fair play had been given them; but unfortunately for them while the Acts regulating their wages had been repealed before the real contest began, the old laws forbidding combinations of workmen for the purpose of raising wages were by an unlucky accident or oversight allowed to remain in force. And now, just as they were most in need of protection, when they were on the point of being gradually starved by the gluts which the hap-hazard production incidental to the new methods of industry entailed, they woke up to find to their horror these Anti-combination laws confronting them. And once in this hell-hole of the New Capitalism between whose opposing jaws they were seized and offered up as to a Moloch, their doom was sealed.

For where were they to turn? They had flocked in from the country round to these great manufacturing centres with nothing but their labour to sell,—now that the masters owned both the buildings, the raw materials, and the machines;—and they must either find work there or starve. Go back to the country they could not, for in the meantime by a revolution almost as rapid as that of industry, the whole panorama of country life had changed. The small freehold farms of from forty to one hundred acres which in the early part of the preceding century had numbered almost two hundred thousand and had housed and supported about one million of souls, or about one-sixth of the entire population, had in the interval practically melted away and disappeared, licked up by the large proprietors or by the great merchants and traders of the towns, who had shortly after the Restoration begun to marry into the ranks of the nobility. These small freeholds were badly cultivated, as indeed were all the farms; there was no rotation

of crops; and the soil at last had become so exhausted that they no longer paid. The landlords bought them up, threw them into large farms of from two to five hundred acres or more, introduced machinery, improved the cultivation by rotation of crops and by manures, erected new farm buildings, improved the breeds of cattle, and enclosed the commons and wastes on which the farm labourers had kept their pigs, geese, and cows. Much of the land that had formerly been arable was now turned into pasture; fewer labourers were in consequence required; their cottages were pulled down, and they themselves were thrown by thousands on the rates as paupers, or had to fly for work to the great manufacturing towns. And once there, it is evident that there was no returning to the country when the evil days of gluts and over-production came upon them and threw them out of work by the thousand.

In the meantime their misery in these seasons of distress was aggravated by a series of bad harvests, and by a rise in the price of bread high above all previous parallel. Owing at first to the Napoleonic wars and afterwards to the high protective duties on corn, the food-supply of the country was practically limited to that grown within its own borders. And when this was combined with the great increase of population which had been unduly stimulated by the demand of the factories for children's labour, the price of bread rose to such a height that when the factories closed down from over-production, tens of thousands of workpeople were thrown on the streets and brought to the brink of starvation, from which indeed they were only saved by charity. The price of corn at one time reached one hundred and twenty-seven shillings a quarter. In Stockport alone fifteen hundred houses were empty, and two thousand people without a bed; while in Bolton seven thousand were living on incomes of a shilling a week!

And so at the end of the first act of the New Industrial drama, what with the repeal of the laws fixing wages, and the continuance of the laws against combinations of workmen to

raise them; what with the imminent fear of loss of work and starvation, and the closing up of all avenues of escape owing to the people having now nothing but their labour to sell, and being unable to return to their houses or cottages in the country;—what with all this, and emigration not having yet been thought of, the Masters had ended by getting the men on their backs bound hand and foot. What then in this situation was likely to be the political cry of the Masters? What but this:—Hands off; no interference; leave us alone; let these good workmen here make their contracts with us and we will faithfully carry them out! In a word Laissez-faire and Freedom of Contract became from now their political cries, with Free-trade afterwards thrown in as helping them to ease their troubles by shifting them on to the Landlords. So far, however, it is to be observed, these war-cries were confined to their legitimate use as political weapons or *means*, and had not yet been blown by reverberation and repetition into the abstract Political Ideals, the sacred political *ends* they afterwards became. For this several other streams of evolution, as we have said, had to unite and mingle their currents.

The first of these was found in the action of the Workmen themselves. In looking around for some relief from the misery into which the Factory System had brought them, they were tempted in their perplexity to try and put back the hands of Time; and in their distress cried aloud to the Government to stop the new machinery, to limit the number of apprentices, and to fix wages according to the old usage which had continued from the Middle Ages down almost to their own time. They did not seem to see that their only just and logical position was to insist that as the law regulating wages by the ruling of the magistrates, and the law against combinations of workmen to raise them, had always gone together and supplemented each other, it was only right that they should fall together; that it was as illogical as it was one-sided and tyrannical to keep the one and to abolish the other; and that there was no consistent

or logical alternative but either to fix wages again if they were to keep the laws against combination; or having ceased to guarantee a fair wage, to abolish these laws also. After a time, it is true, they recognized that this was their true policy, but it was then too late. For in the meantime the Mill-owners and Capitalists had grown so rich and become so great a power in the country, that the Government of Landowners who needed all the influence they could get to keep up the duty on corn, could not afford to alienate them by any overt action on behalf of the men. Besides they had always this excuse at hand for their non-interference, that it was as impossible to fix a fair wage, as it was dangerous to relax the laws forbidding combinations;—these latter being a valuable defence against the political sedition which since the French Revolution was so much suspected and feared. What they actually did was to repeal the old anti-combination laws, but to immediately re-enact another series which while avowedly aimed at political sedition were so framed as to prevent combinations for the purpose of raising wages as well! Public meetings of working-men were repressed, a tax was put on working-class publications, the penalty for seditious libels was made more stringent, strikes were punished with severity, and those who attempted to put pressure on their masters for the purpose of raising wages were treated as rebels and revolutionaries. And then it began at last to dawn on the men that something more than the mere regulation of wages was necessary if the workers were to get fair play in their disputes with the masters. It was now seen that they must get direct political power as well. And then arose those agitations for the Franchise culminating in the Chartist movement, which with the efforts of the rising Trades-Unions for the legalization of combinations of workmen in their own interests, and with the demand for the repeal of the Corn-Laws to reduce the price of bread, from that time went rolling along together; and encountering every vicissitude of fortune before the last of them had been achieved. Sometimes

these different movements would coalesce and join their forces for a united attack; at other times they would separate and each go its own way. Some of the men who joined the Charter agitation for the purpose of getting more political power through the Franchise, would refuse to join in the agitation for the abolition of the Corn-Laws, on the ground that to cheapen the loaf would only be to bring down wages, and so would leave matters no better than they were before. Some of them, again, who were endeavouring to perfect the machinery of the Trades-Unions, would refuse to support the agitation for the Franchise, on the ground that it was only a waste of time while men were starving,—and so on. After much confusion, strife, misery, and bad feeling on both sides, the workmen at last got all they had asked for—the Suffrage, the legalization of their Trades-Unions, the abolition of the Conspiracy Laws, and through their Trades-Unions a shortened working day. And now it only remains that some fixed minimum of wage should be recognized by all employers as an indispensable condition in their calculations prior to the undertaking of any industrial enterprise whatever; and that they should no longer trust to keep themselves afloat in troubled waters by docking the men of their wages, whether their difficulties have arisen from risky contracts, bad calculation, keen competition, or the falling off in demand. Well indeed might Ruskin ask the Employer why, because two workmen present themselves at his factory gates looking for work instead of one, he should give the one he selects less wages than he would have done had there been only the one applicant? And indeed until this of a fixed minimum of wage, which it must not be forgotten was the normal condition of labour during all the centuries down to the time when the Factory System, born of the great inventions of the last century, broke over the industrial world like a deluge, destroying all old landmarks and leaving wide ruin and devastation behind it;—until this fixed minimum of wage in the various industries is frankly conceded by the masters, as

lying in the direct line of interrupted evolution, the war of strikes and lock-outs must, and indeed ought to, continue.

But what we are most concerned to remark here in reference to these movements of Laissez-faire, Free-Trade, Trade-Unionism, Universal Suffrage, and the rest, is that so far they were confined as I have said to their legitimate use as *means* or instruments by which certain well defined objects were to be attained. But it did not long continue so; they soon became worshipped as political *ends* to be realized on their own account as if there were virtue in their very names. And the curious thing was that it was the reverberation of these *names* that completed the apotheosis of the *things*, although the reasons for the special enthusiasm in each case if drawn out into definite propositions would have neutralized and killed each other! The Masters, for example, wished to be left alone in order that they might be free to exploit the workmen who were now at their mercy, and therefore they shouted through the Press into the ears of Government "Hands off! Let us alone! Laissez-faire!" The Workmen too wanted to be left alone in order to be free to combine in their own interests to defend themselves against the masters, so they too joined in the chorus of "Hands off! Laissez-faire!" The Free-Traders, again, finding that the repeal of the Corn Laws had brought a period of unwonted prosperity to the country, also shouted in unison "Laissez-faire! Leave us alone, Let trade be free!"—and these united reverberations so filled the universal ear with their echo, that the minds of men became by the incessant repetition awed and subdued to that pitch of solemnity necessary to make them pass for universal truths, good for all time. And when at last the demand for the Suffrage arose, and with America standing there as perpetual prompter and exemplar, joined itself on to the rest, the united cries of Laissez-faire, Universal Suffrage, with their minor accompaniments of ballot boxes, 'one man, one vote,' 'representation by population,' and so on, became like Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in France, sacred truths of

universal applicability, to be worshipped and loved not as means merely but for themselves alone. And all that was now needed to complete their apotheosis was that the high priests of Political Economy, with John Stuart Mill as Supreme Pontiff, should consecrate the movements, and in the name of Science send them forth on their conquering way. How the Practical Statesmen who since Burke had lost all conception of or belief in historic evolution and continuity as the only true basis of enduring Statesmanship, were caught up by these cries as in a whirlwind, and the extremes to which in many instances their infatuation carried them, shall be our subject for consideration in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRACTICAL STATESMAN.

AND now we have to see how the Practical Statesmen of the last generation or two, with no knowledge of the course of Civilization to keep their judgments steady, were affected by this play of brilliantly-coloured balls kept revolving before their imaginations—Laissez-faire, Freedom of Contract, Universal Suffrage, and the rest—and how as each in turn came before them they fell hypnotized under its spell, to rise possessed with it as with a fixed idea. Indeed it is almost inconceivable how when once these phrases were let loose among them, the Statesmen ran amuck like Malays; whole sections of the nation looking on and applauding with a kind of admiring despair, and only the toughest, the most antiquated and most irresponsive of old Tories, either from contempt, indifference, or self-interest, keeping their heads steady above and amid the din and uproar of it all. When I came to England in 1872 the infatuation was at its height, and it is with a kind of relief that I embrace this opportunity of confessing with shame that I was myself like the rest deeply and for a considerable time severely bitten by it. The Bill giving the Franchise not only to the intelligent, thoughtful, and provident Working-men who so well deserved it, but to the miscellaneous herd of camp-followers as well, had recently been passed, but instead of being regarded as the only practical way by which

in a government by majorities the Working-man could get fair play in a struggle in which, as we saw in the last chapter, he had been unjustly handicapped, it was now after sufficient reverberation had been given it by the Press, so transfigured and hallowed as to be forced on all and sundry; all the unwashed moral off-scourings of the highways and the streets were to be pressed to come in and partake as to that wedding feast in Scripture, and without their wedding garments on! The Franchise, like some monstrous club, was thrust into their hands and they were invited to wield it lustily not only when questions of a fair wage were concerned, for which they really required it, but when subtlest questions of Foreign Policy, Finance, Currency, Public Health, Education, Religion, the Constitution of the State and the balance of its various powers, were involved! Not only was this dim miscellaneous multitude not asked to abstain from exercising it on questions in which their own interests were not concerned, and on which they did not pretend or even wish to have an opinion, but soft-cushioned carriages were provided and placed at their disposal by scrupulous devotees, to carry them to the poll; and each was invited, nay begged, to record his opinion through his vote on the matter in question (it mattered little what opinion so long as he expressed it!) ballot boxes being carefully put into his hand to insure that this opinion should be kept sweet and pure, sacrosanct and free from all foreign alloy; while all the time he, poor man, like that tinker in Shakespeare who woke up to find himself a duke, conscious of the farce and boredom of it all, was trying to escape from it by the back door, and had to be dragged back by the coat tails! So widespread, indeed, had this curious fanaticism over the suffrage become, that there was scarcely a Liberal member of Parliament, scarcely a member of a debating society, or rising young man of parts, anywhere to be found, but would have cried aloud with indignation and shame had it been proposed to frame a political constitution *anywhere* without this sacred Universal Suffrage

as its basis; no, not even were it a constitution for Hottentots, Digger-Indians, or Cannibals of the Southern Seas! Even this excess of admiration, like that of Titania for the ass' ears of Bottom the Weaver, was not enough for many; for men had in a few years become so hypnotized by these political abstractions and phrases, that an agitation had recently been set on foot, and had received a considerable measure of support and sympathy, for tearing up the old historic Constitution of England by the roots (a Constitution which amid the anarchies and despotisms of surrounding States had worked so well) and planting a brand-new Republic of the modern type in its place —and that too in the face of the French Revolution with all its horrors, atrocities, and reactions, but without its excuse.

Now, at this time in all England there were perhaps only two men of independent philosophical position who made any serious attempt to stay this epidemic of political fanaticism, Ruskin and Carlyle; but with an opposite fanaticism and exaggeration, it must be confessed, both of phrase and doctrine which robbed their utterances at that time of nearly all their force. Rushing, as it were, into the streets with their hats off and arms outstretched as if to stay the madness, they waved, and shouted, and gesticulated wildly (in the 'Latter Day Pamphlets,' 'Fors Clavigera,' and elsewhere) in front of the general onrush, but instead of stemming it, were themselves promptly arrested as madmen; and when brought up before a mixed jury of Political Economists, Practical Politicians, and Leading Editors, for judgment, were summarily condemned to political impotency and ostracism for a whole generation! And I can remember that when conversation happened to turn on them, it was quite the safe and proper thing to say that although men of great genius in their own domain, they had gone quite mad in politics! Indeed it is only now that we are beginning to see how right they were in at least one half of what they said (and that too the half for which they were mainly condemned), however wrong they may have been in the

other half. It was John Stuart Mill who in his gentle way and with his fine philosophic calm gave us younger men the cue as to our attitude, and by his beautiful candour, simplicity and fairness of statement, as well as by his logical acumen and consistency, instructed us as to what we were to think of it all, as with uplifted hand and more in sorrow than in anger, like a prince of the Church dispensing his benediction rather, he pronounced his reprimand; with all of which we were greatly impressed; while Carlyle meantime stormed and shrieked and jeered, and wanted to know when the horses were to have the Franchise; or relieving himself by giving a humorous turn to it all, figured himself as lecturing the whole tribe of dismal professors, with Mill at their head, on their delinquencies, and with such home-thrusts, that not being able to bear it any longer they rose silently from their seats one by one, and like prim and offended spinsters, stepped into the aisles, passing down them in their creaking boots, in high dudgeon, out into the street; leaving him standing there orating to empty benches, alone as in a wilderness! So possessed, indeed, had the Practical Statesmen become with these inflated ideals of Universal Suffrage, Laissez-faire, Freedom of Contract, and the rest (whose quite simple and natural origin as means for the attainment of certain definite political ends we have just seen), that in their over-blown zeal to apply them to every phase and condition of life they became, as we can now see, either ridiculous, immoral, or positively inhuman. A few illustrations will help to make good these positions and will give the reader an opportunity of forming, after this lapse of time, an independent and unbiassed judgment on it all.

The first and in many ways the most monstrous from its inhumanity, the one too that best exemplifies one of the two great illusions to which the Practical Statesman is most subject when echoing the feelings of the passing generation only, namely the tendency to think that what has continued during one's own lifetime is a natural condition to which one must

bend as before a law of Nature;—the first of these illustrations shall be in connection with what is known as the Factory Acts.

Because certain inventions and mechanical contrivances, including the steam-engine, had within a few years burst on the world like a mountain reservoir, breaking down all the old barriers, restraints, and immemorial customs which had protected the workman from the tyranny of the employer and had kept all parts of the industrial machine in due subordination while guaranteeing to the working man a fair and living wage for his labour; because in the tide and stress of this abounding torrent all the old dykes and fences were thrown down, and not men only but women and children were drawn in and swept along helpless on its resistless current, at first carried high on the wave and participating in the abounding prosperity of its earlier years, but when thrust through the gorges and cataracts of its descent to gluts and over-production, impotent to help themselves or each other, and able only like drowning men to clutch each other and drag each other down, the labour of the children replacing and pulling down the wages of the women, and of the women, the men; because all this had continued for a generation or more, and because while it lasted nothing adequately effective could be done towards bringing back the old immemorial landmarks, rights, and boundaries of orderly industry, no wages fixed and no protection given, and all in consequence were left to prey on each other as in a menagerie when the cages have been broken open; because of all this, the Practical Statesmen of the day who were born with it and had grown up under it and by its side, imagined it to be an ordinance of Nature; and although it was really only of yesterday comparatively and as abnormal as the great eruption of Vesuvius, they regarded these gluts and closing down of mills as if they were as old and as much a thing of course as the rising and setting of the sun or the waxing and waning of the moon; and standing there on the shore watching the flood

roll by, instead of exhausting the arts of Statesmanship to mitigate the calamity if they could not adequately deal with it, (as it was their plain duty to do), they made the impossibility of doing strict scientific justice to *anybody* in this welter and overturn of all established wages, contracts, and conditions, their excuse for doing nothing at all!—and this was tantamount to allowing the lions and tigers to prey without let or hindrance on the weaker occupants of the cages, a manifest treachery and crime. For if we consider it well, and without blaming the individual capitalists who were as much carried away by the torrent as the workmen themselves, this action of the Masters in taking advantage of a revolution in the processes of industry to break in on the orderly industrial life of ages, was in its effects although not in intention, as much like that of the lions and tigers among the escaped and helpless beasts of a menagerie as anything well could be; while the action of the Statesmen in standing by and seeing foundlings and workhouse children of five or six years of age confined in dark cellars to be inspected by the light of lanterns and carried off by the mill-owners to work from thirteen to fifteen hours a day, and to be flogged and starved, and strapped till they were black and blue to keep them awake, while the fathers and mothers of families were thrown on the streets in thousands to perish or starve, with the warehouses full of goods; this action of the Statesmen in standing by and looking at these things, and because they could not swim not only not jumping in to help, which was excusable, but hypnotized by the fetish of laissez-faire, turning their backs and standing there unmoved and not even throwing out a plank—this was positively inhuman; while the pretence that in keeping the men up to their contracts with starvation ahead of them they were giving them an exercise in manly self-reliance, was as pure and undiluted a piece of Pecksniffian humbug as the times had known. It was left at last to a simple kind-hearted nobleman who happened to pass that way, to intervene; and with the help of a few friends of the working

men to shake these Statesmen out of their hypnotic sleep. And when at length they timidly ventured in their fear of the Capitalists, on what they called their 'small measure' of relief, the Economists with Ricardo at their head, were much offended and surprised that members should venture to tamper with the sacred principles of 'freedom of contract,' and of 'individual responsibility!'

Now, does the reader imagine that these Statesmen, had they had any knowledge of the Evolution of Industry and of how these cries of Laissez-faire, freedom of contract, and so on, had come there, could have been so daunted by these formulæ as to leave Industry in a state of chaos for half a century, with all the injustice, misery, and oppression their apathy entailed? No, wages would have been fixed on *some* scale of approximate human justice, for better or worse; the laws against combinations of workmen would have been instantly repealed; and if the workers had had to struggle in the industrial arena, it would at least not have been with those ropes around their necks which they continued to wear until our own time.

But there was no length to which the Practical Statesmen might not be expected to go when once they became possessed with these political abstractions of Laissez-faire, Freedom of Contract, and the like;—abstractions which, although born but yesterday, they treated as if coeval with the world. This was well seen in the simple matter of Adulteration. Because *caveat emptor* is in general a sound business maxim, and because it is expedient that the buyer should be wide-awake, shifty, and self-reliant, and should take the risk in all ordinary business of bargain and sale, John Bright,—who in complacency and self-sufficiency when most under the dominion of abstract political fetishes, and especially under this one of Laissez-faire and its tail of adjuncts and accessories, outdid all the politicians of his time;—John Bright would turn red with indignation at the suggestion that the consumer should be protected by public authority against injurious or fraudulent adulterations, not only

of commodities generally but of food and drink as well; and rather than that you should violate this sacred principle of Laissez-faire, he would have you carry the whole science of Chemistry in your single head, and when you went to make your purchases you must either carry about with you a complete chemical outfit of test-tubes, gauges, and re-agents, with which to institute analyses on the spot, or consent to adulterations that should even go the length of poisoning you!—and that too at a time when the principle of the subdivision of labour and the specialization of employments rules throughout the whole range of society, whether in industry or in government, and without which, indeed, we should all sit enchanted and unable to move, strangled by the load of impedimenta we carried round our necks, and choked by our own impotence.

It was the same with Trades-Unionism. When once the Political Economists had collected the practices of the new Capitalist system and formed them into a well-compacted body of logical principles to which a quasi-sacred character was given by identifying them with the laws of Nature, they so daunted the long line of Statesmen from Sir Robert Peel to Gladstone, that those who were most in sympathy with the Working Classes, and most anxious if possible to raise the wages of labour (wages which the pressure of unrestricted competition kept always revolving round the margin of a bare subsistence, with gluts and out-of-work stalking forever in the foreground like spectres); the Economists so daunted these Statesmen by such superficial formulæ as that a certain part only of the whole capital of a country was set aside for the payment of wages (the 'wages fund' it was called), and therefore that if one class of workers got more wages through their Trades-Unions, another class must get less, and so the Working-Class as a body would be no better off than before;—the Economists so imposed on these Statesmen with this illusion, that the latter declared that all they could conscientiously do was to give the Working-Classes their deep sympathy, to avert

their eyes and not to press too rigorously the laws against workmen's combinations, and to hope for the best; while all the time, armed with the shibboleth with which the Economists had supplied them, they were secretly pitying what they conceived to be the ignorance, the infatuation, and the obstinacy of the working men in trying to raise wages by perfecting the machinery of their Trades-Union organizations. And with what result? With this, that for the fifty years or more during which they remained under the illusion that Wages were drawn from Capital instead of from the products of Labour, they either threw all the stumbling-blocks they could in the way of the Trades-Unions when they did not actually harass them, or they allowed them to fight their up-hill and unequal fight with all the waste and strain and bad blood which it engendered, unaided and alone.

But were the Statesmen and Economists really wrong, it may be asked, in holding that wages are drawn from that portion of Capital known as the Wages-fund, and that this fund cannot practically be increased? And if so, wherein does the fallacy lie? The fallacy is the same as if one should take some machine, and arresting its action at a given point should find here a wheel out of gear, there a lever withdrawn, here a movement suspended, there a crank reversed, and from this fixed and frozen attitude of the machine should attempt to deduce the laws of its working. Impossible and absurd, agrees the reader; for to get the true relations of all the parts of the machine, you must wait until it is in action, and until it has had time for all its movements to complete themselves and to come full circle as it were. It is the same with the processes of Industry. The Practical Statesmen, who were as full of theories, overblown hypotheses, fetishes and abstractions as the most contemned type of closet-philosopher, persisted for half a century in confounding an abstraction with a reality, in taking a half for a whole, in confusing a wheel at rest with a wheel in motion, and in taking points of time for continuous procession

and change. Because at any given point of time the hands and feet are nourished from the stomach, because at any point of time there is always a particular part of a wheel that rests on the ground and supports the weight of the carriage, because on any particular day of the week the labourer is fed from the wages paid him the week before, they think that is enough to settle the question. But is it? And is nothing more to be said? Much more, for Industry is not a point of time, a single act, a state of rest; but is a circular action, a revolving wheel, a continuous motion; and you will no more get the laws and relations of its movements as a whole by pulling it to pieces and examining it when in a state of rest, than you will get those of a machine. It is like the gaming tables at Monte Carlo, where the certainty of their bringing in a steady yearly income to the proprietors is founded not on generalizations drawn from any number of *particular* or isolated spins, or from all the spins over a *definite* period of time (it is these generalizations that catch the players, the bank-breakers, the system-mongers); but by treating the game as a *continuous* movement whose conditions owing to the existence of the zero, make that movement a mathematical curve which always turns in the direction of the Bank. But the Practical Statesmen did not see this, and what they in turn ought to have asked the Economists who supplied them with their policy was, how the stomach was to be filled if the hands and feet were starved and paralyzed; how the carriage was to get on its way if all parts of the wheel did not take their turn in being on the ground to support its weight; how the Capital of the world was either to be employed or conserved if the workers of the world did not get enough in wages to buy its products? Did they imagine that if the workers of the world lived on grass like the sheep, or on herbs and roots like the Red Indians, there could be any room for Capital, for the employment of Wealth, or indeed for any Material Civilization at all? It is the power of purchase by consumers, that is to say (excluding for a moment the classes

who consume luxuries) the amount of wages the workmen of the world receive, that keeps the wheels of the industrial process going, and determines the increase of both capital and wealth; not at the point of time, it is true, when wages have just been raised, nor to the individual employer of labour (for that is a parallel fallacy and source of confusion), but when regarded as a continuous process; and it is precisely this continuous process, is it not, which must be the point of view occupied by the Statesman, as distinct from that of the individual capitalist? But as far as these Practical Statesmen of the last century or more were concerned, wrapped in their fetish of Laissez-faire in general and of leave-wages-alone in particular, neither Capitalists nor Workmen have reason to bless them; for had the satisfaction of the Workers as a body depended on these Statesmen, they might, like the Irish peasants, have been living on potatoes to this hour, while the Capitalists would have had to depend on the manufacture of those articles only which such potato-fed peasants could buy!

And now to return to the Franchise and to that Universal Suffrage which has been the dream or cry of the nations since the French Revolution; and to ask what has been the action of the Practical Statesmen in regard to it?

To begin with, we must be very chary in criticising or condemning any great and widely extended fact in the history of the world, however much it may seem at first sight to contain elements ridiculous, illogical, or productive apparently of as much harm as good. For the World will gets its end of a steadily progressive morality and civilization by means as ingenious, manifold, and unexpected as those by which Nature gets her flowers fertilized,—by the wind, by bees and other insects, by animals, and so on. Among the earlier races, as among the lower animals, the improvement of the breed of men perhaps is the shortest cut to progress; and this is mainly effected by exterminative War which weeds out the weaker and inferior races to make way for the higher. As Civilization

advances, Culture in its larger sense comes in to supplement or take the place of War, but in every instance the special means of culture employed are attended with many and various evils which, however, are not necessarily a derogation from the legitimate use of those means in the given time and place;—the test of Statesmanship being at all times the knowledge of when these means or instruments have done their work and had their day, and are ready to be cast aside or supplemented by others. Military despotism at one time was the most pressing necessity of Civilization, but the time came when it had to be fettered and reduced to a subordinate place. Asceticism and Monasticism were necessary in their time for their own special purposes as we have seen, but the time came when their day of usefulness was over and they had to be repressed. So, too, the rites and dogmas of Catholicism were, as we shall see in the sequel, absolutely necessary in order to carry the Pagan world over to Christianity, but the time came when much of them had to be shorn away by Protestantism, which in its turn, not proving sufficient for intellectual expansion, had to modify its creed in favour of advancing Science, and so on. In the same way too, in order to keep pace with the moral advance of Protestantism, the separate nationalities which arose at the break up of Feudalism and at about the time of the Reformation, and which were mainly despotic in character, have had since the French Revolution to give way more or less to the sovereignty of the People themselves, of which the Universal Suffrage that we are now about to consider was one of the means or instruments.

Now all these means or instruments were necessitated in turn both by the line of direction taken by the Evolution of Civilization and by the successive halting-points along its course; but what I desire especially to point out here is that although all of them were necessary, no two of them were alike, none were twice repeated, all of them were attended with grave evils, all ran to extremes and had to be repressed and finally

altogether superseded, all were ideals and abstractions, not ends but instruments only, to be dropped when their special work was done, and all dangerous as double-edged swords when continued beyond their time. A few words on the origin and evolution of the cry for the Suffrage in France, America, and England respectively, will help to emphasize the importance of a knowledge of the evolution of the different factors of Civilization.

To begin with, we may remark that just as the cry for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, arose in France and was blown into a white heat primarily by *political* causes, while the cries for Laissez-faire, Freedom of Contract, and the rest, were in England due to causes primarily *economic*, so the enthusiasm for Universal Suffrage had in these respective countries a similarly opposite origin, while in America it had an origin different from both.

In France, it was essential to the political utopia of Rousseau that if the will of the People were to be sovereign, each man should have a vote and no man more than one vote. Universal Suffrage, in a word, was an integral part of the utopia, and if the utopia itself should collapse, as it did with a whiff of grape-shot at the end of the French Revolution, Universal Suffrage would so far be discredited; not necessarily or altogether so, for the suffrage could of course be separated from the other provisions of the utopia and united under more favourable circumstances with some practical and enduring scheme. But this we may safely affirm, that whenever the Suffrage or any other part of Rousseau's utopia should as such be transplanted into or engrafted on any other constitution, it would prove a rotten member, an element of weakness rather than of strength; in so far, that is to say, as it was founded on a general abstraction suitable to a millennium, and not on the actual necessities of the existing State. And nowhere can this be better seen than in the political history of America since the War of Independence. In that boundless country, with most of its land

as yet unappropriated, and with laws practically precluding the formation of great private estates in land, a country where men had been born and continued so long in a state of general equality in their material and social conditions, that the idea of political and social equality among its citizens had become so ingrained that it seemed part of the constitution of things;—in a country like this, Universal Suffrage was almost a practical necessity of the country and time, and however bad a political instrument Democracy might be in other lands where the foreign relations of war and diplomacy require a more delicate, a more specialized, and a more concentrated instrument or organ, in America Universal Suffrage was for the time a necessary defence against the danger of relapsing into that tyranny of kings or aristocracies from which the European nations were now only beginning to emerge. In any event, Universal Suffrage must after the War of Independence have been a practical necessity of the history, the antecedents, and the material and social conditions of the great body of the people. But as a matter of fact, it was the shadow and corollary of Jefferson's preamble to the Declaration of Independence, which preamble was regarded not only as a practical proposition suitable to the times, but as an abstract political Ideal, desirable as an end in itself, and good for all conditions of men and at all times. Now this unsound plank in the Declaration of Independence, this piece of unsound material in its very preamble, was taken from the utopia of Rousseau, with whose writings Jefferson was deeply imbued. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" or better still the Declaration of Rights of Jefferson's own State of Virginia which was, indeed, the model for the Declaration of Independence—"All men are by nature equally free, and have inherent rights, of which when they enter into a state of society they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity, namely the enjoyment of life

and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." There you have the utopia of Rousseau almost in his very words, and on the threshold of the Declaration of Independence; and when the time is ripe we shall see it germinate and grow. And here it is to be observed that Rousseau had an excuse for these doctrines of his Utopia which the Americans had not, or at any rate not for a day after their independence was assured. For if the French people were ever to throw off the grinding tyranny and oppression of the Kings and the Privileged Classes, it was an indispensable preliminary that this abstract and universal character should be given to the rights of man as man. So too it may have been right and natural in America before the War of Independence—a war brought about by the tyranny and oppression of the Mother Country—but in this abstract and universal form it was not excusable a day after their liberty had been fully admitted, guaranteed, and proclaimed. For where or in what age of the world was it a truth that all men have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? On the contrary when or where have either animals or men kept their rights a day longer than they could maintain them, or than it was believed to be for the general good that they should be permitted to retain them, or be protected in them? What would become of the breeds of animals if certain of the herd could be fenced off from the competition of better and stronger rivals, and be allowed to continue the species unhindered? In what country have either kings or aristocracies been allowed to preserve and "propagate their states" without dispute, and without either being prepared to fight for them, or being permitted to enjoy them lest worse things should befall? When were tribes or peoples ever allowed to inherit the Edens of the world without let or hindrance, without either having fought to acquire them or having to fight to keep them? Did the Americans themselves in spite of this Preamble to the Declaration of Independence allow the Red Indians to roam at

their own sweet will by wood and river and stream, and to keep the vast West as a park or pleasure ground for themselves alone? And yet this vast territory was their property by immemorial occupation, and in the strictest sense of the term right as used by the Americans themselves. No, and why not? Because this preamble taken from the Utopia of Rousseau was not and never had been a truth of the present world, never had been recognised in practice, but was and is an ideal rather, a wish, a dream of the far off future: a distant goal, not an attained position; an ideal to be ever striven after and struggled towards; an inheritance to be got by increments and instalments, not a present possession to be entered on in its full completeness now and here. In France everything had been done at the Revolution to give this abstract Utopia of Rousseau a fair chance to realize itself, and to prove whether it were indeed and in fact a truth of the world or no. The King was beheaded, the estates of the Nobility and Clergy confiscated and sold to the people in small parcels in order to root them in the soil; the religion that supported the old régime was abolished, and with it all titles of distinction and rank; everything that was calculated to compel the recognition of equality in the market-place and in the street, down even to matters of dress, was enforced; and yet when the old house was set on fire and burned to the ground, the new one became the home of Despotism again within a decade. The truth is the whole scheme was an Utopia, of which the negative half bearing on tyranny was true, the positive half bearing on equality was false and could not endure for a day.

In America, on the other hand, the opportunity for testing the soundness of that preamble to the Declaration of Independence which they had borrowed from Rousseau did not come at once, but was delayed by a fortuitous concourse of happy conditions for nearly three generations. With abundance of soil still to be had for the occupying, there was no overcrowding; and with no foreign policy to create complications there

was nothing for the people to do but to increase and expand, and to cultivate the arts of industry and peace. But when Slavery, which was so contrary to the genius and spirit of the people that before the outbreak of the War of Independence they had called, though in vain, on George III. to suppress it; when Slavery had by a kind of natural necessity been extended until it bade fair to stretch athwart the entire Continent, and by the type of character, the ideals, and the interests it bred in those who lived under it, threatened to undermine the whole character of North American civilization; when this Slavery, mingling itself with the disputed question as to the rights of the separate States as against those of the central Federal Power, had so excited and divided the minds of men that there was no chance of settlement except through the arbitrament of war; and when that war had saved the Union and by the wind of the same stroke, as it were, had struck the yoke from off the neck of the slave;—then it was that the little germ that had been introduced into the Declaration of Independence began to take root and grow. Blown on and inflamed by that fanaticism for Universal Suffrage which ever since the French Revolution had been kept alive in Europe by the tyranny and oppression under which the peoples still groaned, but to which there was hitherto no parallel in America, these abstract propositions as to the Rights of Man took fire of themselves, and uniting with the evangelical doctrine of the equality of immortal souls alike in black and white, threw the North (which had no Negro-problem at its door to damp its ardour) into a fine incandescent glow on behalf of the emancipated slave. Not only must he be free, but he must have the Franchise to protect him in his rights as the free and equal citizen of a great Republic. But founded as this was on an utopia, or else drawn as a mere logical deduction from an utopia, it would not work at close quarters; it was found that between inequalities so yoked, no peace was in the nature of things possible; and it was not until by indirect and more

or less illegal or questionable methods the negro was got haltered and put back into leading strings again, that order could be restored;—leaving the Negro-question itself, huge, black, and menacing, as an ever imminent thundercloud to be dealt with by the Statesmen of the future on other lines than those of the abstractions of Rousseau.

In the meantime the country had been filling in, and when at last the best of the vacant lands had been practically all taken up, there was no refuge for the off-scourings of European despotisms who continued yearly to pour in, but the large cities. But so hypnotized had the rulers of the nation now become with the text in the Declaration which Jefferson had taken from Rousseau, that in order to keep up a kind of symmetry and logical consistency in their application of it, nothing would do but that the Franchise, like poinards put into the hands of conspirators on landing, must be conferred on these densely packed masses of European barbarism as well. But observe the result. So long as these immigrants had spread themselves out over the face of the country at large, they were purified, disinfected, and made fit for citizenship by the very virtues of the soil on which they had taken root; but when concentrated in cities, there to be bought, sold, organized, and jobbed for in masses and in detail, they poisoned the Constitution and became the cankerworms of the State; so that the old stock of American citizens, who had hugged their fetish of Universal Suffrage until like Cleopatra's asp it had poisoned them, now looked round in astonishment and indignant surprise to find that those rights and liberties which by means of the Franchise they were in such unseemly haste to confer on strangers, had by these very strangers been filched from themselves! Is not this a singular result for Statesmanship to have achieved in a country where, after the War of Independence, Humanity itself seemed to have started with a clean slate, and with all those conditions absent (except perhaps the negro) which had nourished tyranny and oppression in other lands?

And all from what? From an illusion of the mind, and an exaggerated value attached to the so-called abstract 'rights of man,' bred and engendered in other lands by despotism, and imported into America by reverberation thence, but without necessity or excuse. And for consequence, what? Among other things the poor negroes, far from getting their abstract rights as men after a million lives had been sacrificed in their cause, have now to be confined in separate pens, in church, in school, in railway, and hotel, as if they were cattle! It was like the Roman Citizenship which Caracalla threw open to all the world, where what had formerly been contended for with emulation as a reward of merit and good service, having now no differentiating value attached to it, became like medals that have been multiplied until each citizen has one as a gift, of no further use but to be sold to those who can make use of them in bulk and in gross for their own designs.

But further, the sacred formulæ of Freedom of Contract, Laissez-faire and their accompaniments have been carried so far in America, that (without, as we saw, any of the reasons which in England conspired to elevate them into fetishes) the authorities would have permitted the importation of Chinese labour to such an extent that had it not been for the action of the working men in resisting it, this further mixture of races on the same soil would in no long time have wrenched the Constitution from its base, and reduced it to a despotism,—if only to keep the peace. For it was just this mixture of races and religions, with their resulting hatreds, that laid the heavy hand of despotism on Ireland for so many ages, and that makes the introduction of those free institutions which are enjoyed by every other part of the Empire, almost impossible to this hour. But in America this mixing of races of different colours on the same soil, unless one is intended to be supreme and to treat the others as inferiors, is as great a crime against civilization as is the poisoning of wells in warfare. But it had not been set down as a curse in the Constitution; and so, in spite of the

heritage of woes which the Negro problem had brought them, all precautions against it went down before the cries of Freedom of Contract, Laissez-faire, and the rest, which had come into being in other countries, not, it is to be observed, as principles of government at all, but either as excuses for exploitation and plunder, or as defences against tyranny.

To this point then has been brought, within a hundred years from its birth, the United States of America—a nation of free and enlightened citizens who started life on their own account unencumbered and without any foreign entanglements, and with every advantage of country, soil, religion, education, and character, in their favour—to this point have they come by elevating a few phrases from a dead and forgotten utopia into sacred articles of faith, and that too when they already had the things—the liberty, the equality, the protection—owing to the absence of which it was that these same phrases had become sacred watch-words in the land of their birth. And the conclusion from it all? This, that it is on the understanding of the evolution of the separate factors and interests in States, and of the relation and bearing of their union and outcome on the Evolution of Civilization, that we must rely, as on some giant fly-wheel, to equalize and steady the movements of all; and to take off the excessive emphasis laid on these temporary and over-freighted political abstractions, these local political estimates, born of despotism, fanaticism, reverberation, and illusion —it is to this knowledge that we must trust to make impossible these and the like political fetishes for the future.

And now to return to the Franchise in England, which arose in a manner quite different from that either in France or America. Here the cry for Universal Suffrage arose not from any inflated political abstraction, however much it may seem to have been in itself an exaggeration or excess, but, like all things English, was the direct outcome of an immediately practical necessity. It was indeed an instance of where if you would cook your chop you were almost obliged to burn your house down! If the

working men were to get anything at all, the vote would have to be given to almost everybody. For it is a necessity inherent in Parliamentary Government where majorities rule, that if interests are sharply divided, and those in power are strongly entrenched, you must, to get anything at all, secure a majority; and to secure a majority you must multiply votes out of all apparent reason, like those fish that being surrounded by vigilant and powerful enemies, have to scatter their spawn by the million, if a handful of their young are to survive to continue the species. And as Universal Suffrage once granted cannot be restricted to a single use or occasion, but is a weapon good for all purposes and all occasions, it may become, it is evident, as great and standing a menace to the State when questions of great subtlety, difficulty, or diplomacy, have to be handled, as those standing armies which having been put into the hands of despots to resist foreign aggression, are used by them to subvert the liberties of their own subjects.

Now in England the cry for Universal Suffrage, it will be remembered, arose as a counter-move of the working men against the combination of land-owners, mill-owners, and capitalists generally, to hold them down by legislative enactments forbidding the formation and organization of Trades-Unions; and it culminated for the time in the abortive agitation for the Charter. It was intended rather as a means of enabling the workmen to get fair play in their disputes with their masters about wages, at a time when the Factory System and the introduction of the New Machinery were throwing them in thousands on the streets to starve, than of enabling the vast miscellaneous and illiterate masses to interfere in the general government of the country. Had, therefore, a measure been passed, which would have allowed the workers to combine freely when making terms with their masters, the agitation for the Franchise might have been postponed indefinitely or granted only to the already large number of thrifty, intelligent, and responsible working men, who by their judicious and

temperate procedure had done so much to deserve it. But the assistance which the landowners were now giving the Capitalists, so strongly buttressed and reinforced the latter, that the working men were obliged to resign all hope of getting fair play in their contests with their masters without Parliamentary assistance; and so the movement for the extension of the Franchise, by means of which this combination of landowners and capitalists might be attacked in front and within the walls of Parliament itself, went steadily on;—a most dangerous movement in its ultimate issues for the landlords, had they only foreseen it, and one which will one day push them from their stools. And as it continued to gain in strength day by day, and was coquetted with in turn by both political parties for their own ends, it gradually by its reverberation through the Press, began to put on a quasi-sacred character, and ended as Laissez-faire had done before it, by becoming an end in itself and one worthy of pursuit for itself alone. And although it always continued to be looked askance at by some, it became at last more or less respected if not loved by all, like those texts of Scripture which although most damaging in the hands of theological opponents, are nevertheless respected by all as equally inspired portions of Holy Writ; the political philosophers under Stuart Mill blessing the movement, and figuring it as helping to confer a sense of political responsibility on the masses by its very exercise; while the historians under Macaulay figured it as like Liberty itself, which operates on its possessors like the gradual restoration to sight of those who have long been blind! And so the movement went on increasing, not in sound merely but in devotion and support as it went along, until at last Lord Beaconsfield, with his imperial and romantic spirit, tired of all the haggling about five and ten-pound-freeholders, householders, and the rest, boldly threw open the franchise to lodgers and all, and so gave the control of the State into the hands of the dim miscellaneous multitude whenever they should choose to take it up; trusting with what has proved to be a well-placed confidence,

that his general policy would gain from the imperial spirit of the nation as many adherents to his party from the race-course, the public house, and the street, as were likely to be lost to it by any immediately possible programme of liberal reforms. But it was a dangerous move this of 'dishing the Whigs,' by the delivery of the nation over to a practically Universal Suffrage; and it will be a poor return to those 'country gentlemen' who applauded it as a clever party move, if before the wheel comes full circle again it shall have 'dished' them of their lands. And this indeed it bade fair to do, and that too within two decades of the passing of the Act. For on the heels of it began the agitation for taking the 'unearned increment' from land; and this again was soon reinforced and stimulated by the success of Mr. Henry George's book which proposed to tax the landlords out of their possessions altogether! And indeed the movement would still have been going on, had it not been for the appearance on the horizon of a portent which for the time has stopped the progress of all liberal reform,—a portent bred in other lands, of despotism, and nourished by that same Universal Suffrage which Beaconsfield in his impatience and haste threw so jauntily to the great miscellaneous multitude here, who instead of having to win their swords like Mahomet and his followers, have thus had them thrust into their hands. This portent was German Socialism, to which we have already made allusion in a former chapter in connection with the division of Civilization into fixed and clean-cut stages, and to which I now propose to return for a moment for the purpose of discussing certain dangers connected more especially with its internal structure and workings.

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIALISM.

IN a former chapter we saw that German Socialism even if it were destined to be the form which Industrial Society should assume in the future, would still be at the present moment a danger to Modern States, owing to the avowed belief of its adherents that it is their bounden duty to introduce it now and here (and by force if need be), whenever and wherever they can; and further, we saw that the reason of this belief is that they consider Socialism to be not a revolutionary measure in itself, but the next stage in the normal evolution of Industry, and for which the time is now ripe. And we there gave reasons for believing that the fallacy in this was similar to that of the man who, because human life consists of the successive stages of childhood, youth, maturity, and old age, should feel it incumbent on him to entirely remodel his life outward and inward on some particular birthdays which ushered in these stages. In the present chapter I propose to consider some of the flaws in the inner structure and mechanism of Socialism itself, which would be fatal to it at any period,—or at all events at any period much on this side of the Millennium. But before doing so, it is perhaps necessary to remark here, that so far as the working-men of England are concerned, the edge of Socialism had been turned for them, as it were, before they got the Franchise, and so it was no longer the temptation to them

which it had been to the workmen in other parts of Europe. For in spite of the existence of the laws against combinations of workmen and Trades-Unions in England, these laws had in the later days before the Franchise been so seldom enforced that the workmen who had all along been under the guidance of the most prudent and capable of leaders, had already obtained through their Benefit Societies, their Co-operative Societies, and their Trades-Union organizations, nearly all they had asked for; and with that tendency of Englishmen to brush aside all theories that do not immediately lend themselves to practice, they had never given this utopia of German Socialism their serious consideration, and so had not run the risk of being bitten by it as their fellow-workmen had been in France and Germany. But that is no reason for believing that they will not be so bitten, even when they are receiving their full rate of Trades-Union wages, when once (with the Franchise in their hands) they get into their heads that what the Socialists tell them is true, namely that they are being systematically robbed by their masters of a part of the produce of their labour which rightfully belongs to them. When once they come to suspect that this is the truth we may be sure that, in spite of their indifference to abstract theories, they will as readily embrace the doctrines of Socialism which support it, as they did the theory of Free-Trade according to Adam Smith when they wanted to get rid of the Corn Laws. And should they do so it will be to give support to a scheme of social organization more subtle, more dangerous, more fallacious and utopian, than that of Rousseau. More subtle, because it professes to be founded on a strictly scientific process of evolution, whereas that of Rousseau was founded, as we have seen, on a dream of the Past which had no existence in reality, and was postulated mainly as furnishing a ground for believing that Society would return to its original simplicity again, when once the tyranny and oppression of the present were removed. More dangerous than that of Rousseau, because if it were really founded on

scientific evolution as it professes to be, it must return to the attack after repeated defeats with a first love; whereas the scheme of Rousseau, founded on a dream, was sobered by the spectacle of the guillotine and by Napoleon's whiff of grape-shot; and its over-blown pretensions once dissipated never re-appeared with the same complete success. More dangerous, again, because as we shall now see, it is most cunningly constructed to flatter the self-love of the great masses of men, the dim and undistinguished millions who going to bed as individual units of no particular mark or circumstance, are to wake up to find themselves in a social and economic millennium on an equality with the best; whereas the Utopia of Rousseau went no further in the first instance than to give his peasants and workmen a political equality as citizens only.

Again, although it is probable that Collectivist Production and the regulation of Industry by the State will some day be an accomplished fact, as lying in the direct line of evolution, we may still affirm that for inherent absurdity, as we shall now see, this particular scheme of Karl Marx touches perhaps the lowest depths that abstract social utopias have yet reached. Of all these Utopias it may be said that they have been born of direct repression and tyranny, and that they have all some form of equality as their basis. Sometimes this equality has a religious basis, as of the equality of souls before God, and therefore of the equality of men as men, as in the Peasants' Wars in England and Germany, and the Civil War in America; sometimes it has a natural basis, as of the equality of men's rights as citizens, or to a share in the government, as in the French Revolution; or of the equal rights of all to be fed, or to share in the produce of labour, as in some of the Communist utopias; or again of the equality of all to rights in the soil, as in the Utopia of Henry George; but it was reserved for Karl Marx to preach, as a scientific doctrine, that the mere time spent in producing commodities or services is the measure of their value to the community, and that

therefore equality of time spent gave a right to an equal share in the product!—probably the most curious conclusion professing to be scientific that men, presumably sane and looking you frankly in the face in all honesty and sincerity, have ever asked their fellow-men to believe. It would be sufficiently true, indeed, to be not altogether absurd if all the plans for the progress, the improvement, the amelioration, and the happiness of mankind had been let down from Heaven, when and where and as often as they had been wanted, and only the carrying and lifting, the sawing and planing and fitting and filing, and so on, required to carry them into effect, had been left to mortals. But as a matter of fact the plans of campaign of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon, the Constitutions of Solon and Lycurgus, the discoveries of Newton, Galileo, and Copernicus, the inventions of Watt, Stephenson, Arkwright, and Davy, of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, the great discoveries and inventions that lie at the base of all industrial processes and manufactures, and which have increased the mere power of production of man and horse one thousand-fold, as well as the arts, the philosophies, the literature that have instructed, elevated, refined, and comforted the human spirit; all these, together with the wide range of gifts that lie between these and the mere hand, arm, and muscle of man or horse, the organizing, the arranging, the adapting, the combining, the constructing;—all these are the works of men, not the gifts of the gods. Do the Socialists seriously ask us to believe that the value of these inventions would he adequately represented by the amount of mere time spent by the inventor in working them out? or that the hours spent since in pulling, and lifting, and hauling, by all the navvies and coal-heavers of the world have been equal in result to a tithe of what has been produced by Watt and Stephenson in the comparatively few hours taken by them to bring the steam engine and the locomotive into the field of industry? Or again, that all the hours spent in war with pike

and club and sword have equalled in execution a tithe of the work done by the gunpowder which it may have taken only a few hours out of a single lifetime to discover? Or that all the wealth that has accrued from trading along the coasts and shallow inlets of continents, is to be compared to what has resulted from the simple invention of the mariner's compass? Or that all the labour spent in trying to eradicate the insect pests that destroyed the vines, is to be compared in its results with the discovery of Pasteur as to how it was to be scientifically accomplished? Mr. Maxim considers that the gun which was the result of his inventive genius had more to do with the victory of Omdurman and the conquest of the Soudan than all the marching, and riding, and shooting, and bayonet-thrusting of all the soldiers engaged, if not than the generalship of the commander himself—and perhaps he may be right. Do the Socialists then imagine that he would be fairly paid for the time spent in inventing it, if paid at the same rate per hour as the soldiers who drag it about the battle-field and fire it off? Or that the General should be paid at the same rate per hour for the labour spent on his plan of campaign as the private soldier for the time he is on duty? Or the Prime Minister at the same rate as his secretaries? Or Shakespeare as his printers? How many men was the presence of Napoleon on the field equal to? One hundred thousand it is said,—and his remuneration to be by labour-time alone! Evidently nothing so absurd as this can be intended by the Socialists in their doctrine of labour-time. Is there then any other hypothesis to which we can refer this curious opinion of theirs, which they defend as scientific? Is it that they hold that the genius which has discovered, invented, and organized all these things is a gift of the gods to certain men, a natural capacity with which they are born, which they have done nothing to create, for which they have not laboured, and for which, in consequence, they ought no more to be paid than for their physical stature? This can scarcely be their reason either,

for not Nature alone gives her bounties to the best of her breeds and to those who have done nothing specially to deserve them, to the strongest, the most beautiful, the most courageous, the most capable; but men also, even the Socialists themselves, give the chief places at their feasts and synagogues, the first positions, the most authority, consideration, and deference to their most highly endowed, and were it necessary, at a pinch, their best food and drink and clothing also;—in a word, all that is given them by the existing state of society against which they so rail. Do they really imagine that either Nature or Civilization exists to protect, coddle. preserve, and perpetuate the most poorly endowed, the vague millions, at the expense of the select and rarely gifted? No, Nature only shares her gifts equally among all when, like air and water, there is enough for all, not when like land or other monopolies they are prizes limited in quantity. Then, they have to be fought for, and in the long run go to the best and strongest races, if not to the wisest, most energetic, or most capable individuals.

But at this point the Socialists may be supposed to interpose and to assert that their contention is something much more simple and practical than this, namely that the great body of Capitalists have invented nothing, improved nothing, and discovered nothing, and that as for their part in organizing and managing their concerns, on which so much stress is laid, this is mainly either the work of their foremen and paid managers, or else follows the lines laid down already in other works of the like kind; and further that if the Capitalists and all their auxiliaries were shipped out of the country to-morrow, so long as the Workmen remained, the Industry of the nation would go on as before.

Now, if you look merely at the *processes* of industry at any given time, and not at its *products*, this last contention might seem to have some plausibility. For at any given point, on inspecting the works what do you find? Simply a moving mass of workmen in the yards, or going to and fro between the

machines, with the foremen overlooking and directing the general operations of the whole; and however often you may return to make your observations, this is mainly what you will see. But is not something essential to the processes of industry omitted from this picture, something, indeed, which never comes into it at all? There is first the inventing of new machines or the perfecting of the old ones which are destined to vastly enhance the output for every man employed, but which for the present exist only in diagrams or drawings in the inventor's study, and so do not appear in the workshops. Or say that these inventions and improvements are completed, and have been embodied in new machinery at which the men are now working, still they do not appear as inventions; all that appears is the completed machines made in the shops, with the foreman and the men standing by them and going to and fro between them at their work. Or perhaps there has been a general reorganization of the entire establishment, a better arrangement of the different shops, a more judicious selection of men for the special work they have to do, a number of economies practised in the power or the materials used, all of which in the aggregate materially improve the quality of the output or increase its quantity per man; and yet none of these adaptations come into the picture or purview. So that however often you snapshot, as it were, the processes of industry, you can never get the inventor, the improver, or the organizer in. Can we be surprised, then, that the superficial observer should come away with the conclusion that the Socialist is right after all, and that if only the workmen were left to carry on the processes of production, the other classes might all go to sleep, or take themselves off to their yachts or shooting-boxes, for any detriment that would accrue to industry from their absence.

But if instead of looking at the *processes* of industry we look at its *products*, and take an inventory of these at stated intervals, say a decade before and a decade after some great invention—

the steam-engine, the power-loom, the locomotive, or what not—and compare the amount of the product turned out per man at these respective periods, what do we find? For every ton of coal raised then, you have, say, ten now; for every yard of cloth woven, a hundred; and so on throughout the whole range of Industry. And to whom is this proportioned increase due? To the inventors and organizers, it is evident, and not to the workers; to the brains and not to the hands; to those who do not appear in the picture or snapshot, not to those who do.

All this is of course so trite that one has to apologise for labouring it, but so long as the Socialist orators of the street corner persist in asking their hearers to believe that all the products of industry are due to the workers alone and that all their value therefore should accrue to them, it is necessary to insist on it. To huddle away out of sight all the inventors, the improvers, the directors, and organizers of industry, and because they are not to be seen carrying the hod or shouldering bars of iron across the factory yard, or sawing, filing, turning, planing, or fitting in the workshops; to construct an image of the industrial world with them left out altogether; to first mangle the real figure by cutting off its head in the person of these inventors and organizers, and then to hoist the stuffed and decapitated effigy, all stomach like an octopus, representing bloated Capitalism with nothing to do but to be fed by the myriad arms of Industry!—to hoist this on high at the street corners as a true image of the industrial world, is to reach a degree of unfairness in statement that bodes ill for the cause. Is it because all inventions become public property after a lapse of time that they imagine that the product is to be assigned to the workers as if *they* produced it; that because they can buy the materials of a steam-engine and set it up in their back garden, that therefore they can claim its work as *their* work, and its product as their product? That because the use of the Maxim gun has been purchased by the nation, therefore its services in war are to be credited to the nation that bought it

and the soldiers who work it? No, they are to be credited to the inventor, as will soon appear if it is put into the hands of the enemy instead. But softly, interpose the Socialists, and let us get back to the practical fact again, which is this, that these Capitalists have swallowed and exploited not only the workers but the inventors, managers, and organizers as well, so that in fighting the battle of the workers we are fighting their battle also. Now it must be confessed that did the Socialists propose adequately to reward their inventors and organizers, distinguishing them scrupulously from the mere Capitalist as such, their position would be intelligible and worthy of discussion; but this they do not propose to do; indeed their doctrine of the payment of all services alike, whether those of the navvy or those of the inventor, by labour-time alone, would for ever forbid it. And so we are brought back again to our original position, namely that the Socialists do not propose to recompense the 'brains' of the world for the enormous increase of products which they add to the work of its 'hands'; and to this what can we say but repeat that when that millennial time arrives when the good things of this life are so abundant that like air and water each can partake of them freely and to his heart's content without derogation from the rest, or are like the broad streets and thoroughfares which prince and pauper may occupy together without inconvenience,—when this millennial time arrives, the dream of the socialists may be realised; but to apply it to a stage of Civilization where money, fame, glory, position, honour, authority or estimation, all limited things be it observed, are the acknowledged prizes of a successful and useful career, and to imagine that those who have attained these positions and won these prizes for which all are contending will consent to sit and sup out of the common trenchers of the world, as it were, and have their honours and estimation doled out to them by or shared on even terms with navvies, boot-blacks, or valets; to imagine, in a word, that the rulers, administrators, inventors, organizers, scientists, teachers, and

leaders of the world will submit to this self-stultification—as well imagine that the men who have entered for a great prize competition and won, will consent to share equally, as of right, with those who have entered and lost! Socialism like all other Utopias has arisen out of tyranny and injustice, out of the refusal of the Masters while it was yet time to give their workmen fair play and a living wage, and to make this last a primary condition of all their industrial undertakings; and now that it is here, may its red flag continue to wave as a menace on the extreme Left, if need be, until equal opportunity has been given to all to rise without fear, favour, or prejudice, and to attain to any and all of the honours, prizes, emoluments, or distinctions which the custom of the time has sanctioned, and which the world holds out to those who have best served it. But when once this, which is the Politics of the Future, has been attained, to compel those who have been successful in obtaining by fair and honourable means these prizes to abdicate and, from some fancied abstract right on the part of the unsuccessful, to share out equally all round, as if no contest or competition had taken place at all—is not this a strange and curiously self-stultifying doctrine? When the Saxon came and ruthlessly drove out the Celt or reduced him to slavery, and the Norman in turn conquered the Saxon and putting a collar round his neck reduced him to serfdom, did the vanquished expect to set aside or reverse the verdict which had been settled by the arbitrament of war, and demand to sit down at table on an equal footing with their masters? Did they produce their parchments or other abstract documents on the 'rights of man' in general and their own in particular to substantiate their claim; and did they talk of payment by 'labour-time' alone? And now that freedom for all has been slowly but steadily won, so that no invidious signs of subjection are anywhere to be seen, do the Socialists therefore believe that there are no longer any real superiorities or relative values among men, but that the plane of distinction between those who lead and those who

follow may be cut so thin and fine that it will not have an upper and an under side? Or that if the existing order of society were dissolved to-morrow, the hand of Power, now concealed as in invisible ink, would not re-appear? or that the struggle would not recommence (not necessarily with weapons of physical force it is true), until it was ascertained who were to lead and who to follow, who to teach and who to learn, who to do the brain-work and who the manual work of the world, and who in consequence were to take the chief places at life's feast and who to be content with the lower seats.

And now as regards those Capitalists who, as the Socialists say, have invented nothing, discovered nothing, and organized nothing, and who, as in the case of joint-stock concerns, have never even seen the inside of the works from which they derive their incomes; those capitalists who, while exploiting alike the inventor, the organizer, the manager, and the working-man, do nothing themselves but step in and take the lion's share of the product, and whom the Socialists would propose therefore to pay by labour-time only. Here, at last, we seem to have come to a definite grievance, and there would seem, indeed, to be no reason why these capitalists, these mere drones in the hive should be paid anything at all.

Now before dealing with this I am anxious, in order to prevent any misunderstanding of my position, to define more clearly my attitude in reference to what I may call the soul or essence of Socialism, as distinguished from the various economic and other purely intellectual propositions with which it is bound up. For in my endeavour to remove this ineffectual doctrine of "labour-time" from the forefront of the cause, I fear I may have incurred, through the very strenuousness of my denunciation, the imputation of having overstepped that line of absolute impartiality which in my professed attitude as a philosopher free from all party ties I have always regarded as a point of honour to maintain. But the imputation would not be true. For let the Socialists once renounce this doctrine of "labour-

time" which destroys the philosophic basis of their system, and renounce too this absurd imagination of theirs that in these days of evolution any complete reorganization of society is either possible now and here without a revolution, or if possible could be effected without disastrous recoil; once renounce these two permanent obstacles to the success of their cause, and there is no one who would go with them farther or more heartily than myself. As a noble ideal for the elevation and amelioration of the great masses of men, the spirit, soul, or essence of Socialism has my fullest sympathy; as lying in the direct line of evolution towards that ideal many of its definite proposals too have my entire assent. The wish to equalise more nearly the colossal disparity of mere money incomes, especially when the reward is made up to the deserving in honour, estimation, reputation, or authority among their fellow-men—this lies in the direct line of evolution, and advantage should be taken of every legitimate instrument that comes to hand to push the process a stage farther. More especially is it desirable that all angles and points of vantage on which men may ensconce themselves and without stirring a finger may by the mere operation of natural monopoly reap where they have not sown, and take tax and toll whether in money or reputation from their fellow-men—all these, after full and reasonable compensation, should either be turned into public sources of revenue or abolished altogether; and this, indeed, could be done to-morrow without injustice, danger, or disorganization, either to individuals or the State. In a word, everything that would help to prevent the mere vulgar money-bags of the world from sitting in the chairs of state and dominating the world would be welcomed by me with as much thankfulness as by the Socialists themselves. All this I sincerely hold, and therefore I feel it the more incumbent on me to shew reason why in regard to remuneration of all kinds, pecuniary or other, no distinction, in my opinion, can in the existing organization of society be made between those capitalists who have neither invented anything, discovered

anything, nor organized anything, and those who have—much as it offends our ideal of justice that any man or body of men should sit and monopolize the good things of this life without having done anything personally to deserve them. In digressing for a moment for this purpose, I trust I may not altogether waste the reader's time, for the reasons which I am about to offer have the additional advantage of bringing out a principle which has been too little observed but which will be seen to be of wide application throughout the whole range of social organization.

The principle to which I refer is this;—that at any given point of time the world of civilization takes little thought of *individuals* but only of *institutions*,—all injustices to individuals having to wait for changes in institutions, and to be redressed rather by regulating the relations existing between institutions than the relations between individuals themselves. For the world of civilization like the natural world may be figured at any given point as a series of mountains, hills, valleys, and plains, which slowly change from age to age by gradual upheaval or denudation; and just as new continents are rising while the old are sinking, so new institutions are coming into being and asserting their supremacy while the old are declining and losing their sway; the question of the character of the individuals who officer them being in old established States quite a subordinate one. In some countries Absolute Monarchy, for example, is so high, over-weening, and all-overshadowing a peak that the millions of the subject population show like a sandy plain merely, while even its highest councillors are but as mole-hills around its base, as in the France of Louis the Fourteenth, and the Russia of to-day. It were well, of course, if the occupant of that peak were essentially the greatest man in his dominions, but were he the poorest and most incapable it would matter little, for at the particular time and place, the institution, the peak, is all; to split its function, or divide the allegiance of the

millions that look up to it by setting aside its hereditary representative, would only be to open the flood-gates of disaster. In the Wars of the Roses, for example, the occupation of the throne by one family for three reigns so balanced the slightly superior claims of its rival, that swords could be thrown into either scale indifferently and with equal good faith—but with what result? Such a holocaust of slaughter, such a decimation of the ranks of the Nobility who up to that time had been the main defence of Liberty, that on their fall Despotism had but to step in, and on their prostrate greatness take its seat, there to entrench itself until the People themselves surging in Puritan revolution around the throne as around some hated Bastille, reduced it to its former level again. So vast and wide-spread a calamity hung on so small a thread, on so slight a trembling of the balance in the institution of hereditary succession, and not on the personal merit or demerit of the occupant at all. Or again, there may be two equal and co-ordinate peaks bearing sway like double stars, as the Emperor and the Pope in the Middle-Ages. In this case although it required really great men like Barbarossa and Hildebrand to establish and uprear these giant peaks, it matters relatively little who shall continue to occupy them, so long, that is, as the institutions themselves are not imperilled. Indeed in their period of decline the more impotent the individual who occupies them, the better, in a sense, for the world. One wonders sometimes why some more fitting public sphere was not found for the genius of Shakespeare, but when we consider it what could have been done? For in his time the Throne and the Christian Religion, Catholic or Protestant, were the two *necessities* of the age, the two permanent mountain peaks not in England only but in Europe as well. To attempt to seat Shakespeare on the former because of his individual greatness you would have had to overturn its foundations in heredity first, and after all for what? A committee of ordinary men of affairs were as likely to advise

rightly, perhaps, as to the wisdom of the sale of monopolies or as to the necessity of fighting the Spaniards, as the author of Hamlet; while as to his insight into the World, or Religion, where his great genius might be supposed to energize more freely as in its proper sphere,—there was no room for any new solution of the Problem of the World (except in the way of mere denial), outside the lines of Christianity, Catholic or Protestant, none that would not have set Europe in a blaze; for there were not sufficient new scientific discoveries either as to the Earth or to the Heavens bearing on the problem except the Copernican (which was fruitful only in scepticism as yet) on which to found a new synthesis or scientific conception of the Universe. All of which goes to show that at any given time and place the institution is everything, the greatness or littleness, the personal merit or demerit of the individual, comparatively nothing; his function, if he be a genius, being to help to denude or dislimn the old and decaying institutions, or to plant the germs or organize the resources of the new; and his reward the purely personal esteem of individuals merely. So long, for example, as the Monarchy and the Church of England continue in this country, the personal ability or character of the Sovereign or of the Archbishop of Canterbury matters comparatively little; the institutions themselves being all, so long as they last, the successive occupants of either will participate in the glory of the peaks on which they sit, and in all the honour, emolument, consideration, deference, and authority of their position, just as if they were personally and in themselves the tops and pinnacles of humanity. The world being a cosmos and not a chaos, there must in every age and time be a hierarchy of command on the one hand and of obedience on the other, however delicately it may be veiled; and although it is the very end and aim of civilization to secure the best men for the best places, and although it offends our ideal of right as much as ugliness does our sight to have impotence in the seats of power, still no

radical reorganization of society in the interests of individuals however worthy, and to the detriment of institutions however decaying but which are still necessary to the orderly evolution of States, can be permitted without doing more harm than good.

Now it is the same with those Capitalists, those mere drones in the hive, who invent nothing, discover nothing, organize nothing, but who draw their incomes in through every pore without doing anything in return, having succeeded to businesses which the ability, energy, and prudence of their forefathers have founded. For the Family is an institution which from time immemorial has been the unit of the social structure, and until it has been superseded by the isolated Individual as unit, and the claims of children to inherit the property of their parents have been done away with, these same do-nothing Capitalists must be permitted to sit unmolested and to enjoy their revenues unimpaired. For if they have in nine cases out of ten invented nothing and organized nothing, it is almost a certainty that their fathers or grandfathers or other members of their family have; so that the Socialists must at the very outset decide whether the principle of freedom of bequest and the hereditary transmission of property is to be maintained or no. If it is to be maintained, then these capitalists however useless or ineffectual have the same right to that proportioned share of the product which has been achieved by the inventive or administrative capacity of their ancestors as these ancestors themselves had. If on the contrary it is not to be maintained, then the Socialists are asking Society to accept an Utopia compared with which that of Plato or Rousseau is relatively practicable and feasible. For you shall as well hope to construct a society which shall march and work, while abolishing the relations of the sexes themselves, as dream in the present stage of civilization of doing so while abolishing the family tie. But if at this point the Socialists object that I am misrepresenting them, and that on the contrary the liberty of bequest and of inheritance is freely permitted in their scheme, then I reply

that by their principle of payment by 'labour-time' alone, a principle which cuts off as by a guillotine everything over and above the most modest subsistence (for who is likely to work more hours and for more years than your ordinary navvy?) there will be nothing worth consideration to leave, and so it is as broad as it is long. Let the Socialists, therefore, look to it that if they would win recruits by a fair and open propaganda, they inscribe on either side of their marching banner one or other of these legends of which their followers may make choice; on one side;—No payment to inventor, organizer, administrator, manager, or director, beyond that of the navvy or artisan, as calculated by 'labour-time' alone; on the other;—No transmission of property to wife, child, or relative. If they choose the first, the second may be permitted to drop from the programme; if the second, the first; but either way the visionary and utopian nature of the scheme, which by the way is not to wait for a millennial time but to be realised now and here if possible, is sufficiently marked.

As with those perpetual motion schemers who would prove to you on paper the truth of their inventions by the aid of diagrams which either ignored, concealed, or evaded the most vital points of the problem, so with Marx it was a comparatively easy and simple matter to produce a clean-cut scheme of social reorganization which while solving the obvious should ignore the difficult parts of the problem. Divested of its difficulties, the problem as stated by him was;—Given a number of capitalists who have invented nothing, improved nothing, organized nothing, but who sit there and draw their profits and dividends by clipping a little piece from each of their workmen's labour in the shape of wages, like those fraudulent monarchs who manage to raise a revenue at a pinch by clipping the coin; and out of these clippings of wages have built factories and stocked them with machinery and raw materials, to which, however, they will only allow their workmen access on condition that they consent to be still further fleeced, in the same way as

the landowners of many European countries demand from the cultivators a certain proportion of corn or cattle as condition of their having access to the soil;—given this as his problem, it was comparatively easy for Marx to propound as its solution that just as when kings clipped the coin or taxed their subjects to keep up their own state and to keep down the people's liberties, all the latter had to do when they got the power was to tax themselves, and themselves arrange how these taxes were to be spent, so when private capitalists dock the men of part of their wages and with it buy up machines and warehouses and raw materials to which the men can have access only on their exploiters' terms, all that the men have to do is to save that part of the wages of which they have been mulcted by the capitalists, and with it buy the machines, and work them themselves; or better still, now that the buildings and machinery are there at hand, to take them over bodily without payment, on the ground that they have been built out of money kept back from the wages of the workmen by the capitalists who have gone before! So far well, but now bring this problem of Marx up to its natural complexity by introducing into it the infinite variety of tastes and talents, and the infinite degrees of value of social services, and what do we find? How, for example, to cater for the variety of tastes which like an unquiet sea billow up around every object that has caught the fancy as the waters do before the moon, without either great dislocation or waste, or the introduction of some despot as *censor morum* with such tyrannous interference with individual liberty as would make life a burden? Of this Marx says nothing; while as for correctly appraising the value of each man's services with the view of justly remunerating him accordingly;—we have seen with what complacency he passes the smoothing-iron of 'labour time' over them all, reducing them to a dead level of equality, so that Civilization which it has taken ages of effort to win from barbarism, Civilization with its mountain peaks and terraced hill-sides covered with the products of

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every clime, and with its flats and morasses drained and enclosed into cultivated fields, is, with the object of equalising the talents that lie above the sea-line with those that lie below it, to have the waste sea let in on it all, and so to be reduced to its original swamp and bog again.

This is Karl Marx's paper-scheme for the reorganization of society, with its solution of all difficulties by the simple expedient of payment by 'labour-time' alone,—a scheme in which the real difficulties having been eviscerated before starting, all the characteristics of vitality are lost except indeed that of sufficient verbal cohesion to make its parts stick together on paper and when not tested on the complex world of experience; like those barnacles which when they were free-swimming creatures had the full complement of vital organs with which to cope with their environment, but when they ceased to be so, and had only to stick to the bottoms of ships lost them all and degenerated into empty sacs merely. But why this insistence on payment by labour-time alone? Because, says Marx, the value of all things for which there is a steady and effective demand, whether they be tables or chairs or diamonds or silks or what not, depends, to put it roughly, on the labour-time spent in producing them, that is to say the greater the time spent the more the value, the less the time spent the less the value and the less they will cost us to buy. Now, if this be so, is it not evident that what society wants is to find the men who can help us by inventions or contrivances to do things in the shortest possible time so that we may have more and more leisure to satisfy our higher faculties and wants? And are we likely to find these men if we do not pay them, or if we pay them at the same rate as we do the mere navvies and field-labourers who invent nothing and therefore take the longest possible time? And is it not certain that the reorganization of society on these lines would have the same effect on Industry as the taking of all the surplus fruits of the soil in taxes would have on agriculture, and would speedily reduce it

to stagnation, as those once smiling and fertile countries of the East have been reduced by Turkish Pashadom? No, if the time should ever come when an organic reconstruction of society becomes necessary, we may rely upon it that it will not be left to any mere paper-scheme like that of Karl Marx, drawn up to suit certain economic abstractions called men—barnacles that have become mere economic sacs, bodies without souls,—but will be a scheme in which Religion, Philosophy, and Science, will play their parts as well as Economics, and in which each will receive its proper setting in the full and ordered harmony of the whole.

And yet this blighted economic scheme of Karl Marx is believed in by some millions of foreign workmen who but for the overpowering military forces of the Continent would feel pledged to inaugurate it to-morrow. What would have been the result here if with our Parliamentary Government by majorities, and the absence of any military coercive force, equal numbers of workmen had embraced it? And yet this is what the Franchise, that double-edged sword which Beaconsfield flung so lightly to the vast and easily-swayed multitude, has rendered us liable to, the moment they think fit to pick it up. Because there was no immediately practical and scientific way of separating out the more prudent, thoughtful, and responsible of the working classes and giving them the franchise, and because for these to get fair play at all seemed impossible without an overwhelming popular vote behind them, because, in a word, the Practical Statesmen were unable to so regulate their dams as to let in just the right quantity of water to turn the wheels of State, and no more, they seem to have lost all sense of measure, and went to the other extreme of throwing wide open the flood-gates, and letting the whole reservoir in, thus straining and racking the constitution until in times of emergency it was liable to reach the breaking point! Such is the statesmanship that comes from taking too seriously those inflated phrases as to the value of the

Franchise, which although natural enough as defences against tyranny and oppression, become, when blown by echo and reverberation into fanatic war-cries, not only political nuisances but a real danger to the State.

And now after this somewhat lengthy digression on Socialism and its connexion with the Franchise, to return to the Practical Statesmen and to the errors into which they have fallen by their want of attention to the history and evolution of the different political and social problems with which they have to deal. The last instance we shall take is one where the procedure of the Statesmen follows the method of evolution in appearance rather than in reality, and is best seen, perhaps, in the statesmanship of the late Mr. Gladstone. His method resembled that of Burke, and would have been as legitimate too perhaps had it been applied to the politics of the Eighteenth instead of the Nineteenth Century. For there was this difference between the times before and after the French Revolution and rise of the Factory System, that before that period the Practical Statesman had to deal mainly with facts, and not at all with theories or abstract political doctrines; and in consequence had to keep matters of Foreign Policy, the Franchise, Public Economy, Privilege, and the rest, close to the practical needs of an orderly and expanding nation, and no more; whereas since then, progressive statesmen have had to deal with practical facts, it is true, but in most cases with facts so over-laid and covered with phrases, so shot through and through with hypotheses and abstract theories which grew out of the French Revolution and the Factory System—abstract ideals of Liberty, Equality, and the Rights of Man, economic doctrines of Free-trade or Protection, Laissez-faire, and the like, theoretical estimates as to the value of the Suffrage, theories as to the proper relation between Capital and Labour, Wages and Capital, and so on—all of them so fruitful in differences of opinion and susceptible of being looked at from so many different points of view, that they

require much more insight and penetration and a much wider knowledge of Evolution and Civilization for their solution than did the problems which confronted Burke. Now it must be confessed that the method both of Burke and Gladstone in dealing with their respective problems possesses when compared with the method of abstract political philosophers like Karl Marx and the Socialists, all the marks of an almost ideal statemanship. In their survey of civilization the Socialists, as we have seen, stalk over whole centuries as with seven-leagued boots, taking in the entire compass of Industrial History in three or four giant strides, each stride covering an entire period known by them as the periods of Slavery, Serfdom, Capitalism, and Collectivism respectively. And in consequence of the length of these strides, fitted rather for an advance of the Immortals than for ordinary slow-crawling bipeds, they would have everything in existing society conform to the requirements of the general stage to which it belongs, instead of to the requirements of that infinitesimal portion of it known as the Present Time. Everything, accordingly, in the Present, whether in Church or State, which does not conform to this completed Ideal, they hate as an obstruction, and would pull down and abolish to-morrow. Now Burke and Gladstone on the other hand have no practical regard for abstract theories of Society, however true they may be in themselves; they love all the old institutions that have come down into the Present, and have no desire to pull down any of them, but on the contrary would conserve them, or at any rate as much of them as was still sound and healthy. Instead of total reorganisations and reconstructions of society therefore from the foundation, they proceed by small and careful increments, feeling their way cautiously from point to point, especially at the crossing of the ways and where new and important departures have to be taken—all of which bears the true marks of practical Statesmanship, being economic and conservative, steady in pace and at the same time entirely

liberal and progressive in spirit and aim; and the debt that England owes to Gladstone for preventing an inrush of the deluge at a time when all the extreme, over-heated, and over-blown causes had collected like thunder-clouds from the different points of the compass and were ready to descend, the debt due to him for keeping them back or harmlessly drawing them to the ground one by one until the more dangerous had passed over and been forgotten, is very great.

But although Burke and Gladstone were alike in their *mode* of political procedure, and in it followed the true path of evolutionary statesmanship, like those creatures that for mimetic or protective purposes resemble each other outwardly so closely that they can scarcely be distinguished, they were in the *nature* and *essence* of their statesmanship as wide apart as the poles. They both, it is true, followed closely the political cries of their respective times, and when these had grown sufficiently in volume and urgency, were ready to step in and frame measures which would turn them into law. But while this was legitimate in the case of the questions with which Burke had to deal, it was not so with those that came before Gladstone. For those with which Burke had to deal were mainly questions where the mere demand, when backed by sufficient numbers, was in itself the justification for granting it, and where the result would be found to follow the lines of evolutionary statesmanship. These cases were of two kinds. The first included all those disputes between classes and interests which we may call moral, and which arose from unequal or oppressive taxation as between class and class, inequalities of chances and opportunities created and maintained by law, the gross handicapping of one class through exclusive privileges granted to another, legal and administrative corruption, the claims of growing colonies to equality of rights and advantages, and the like; all these *moral* grievances, if we may so call them, can usually be removed at once and at a stroke, without danger, and without breaking in on

the orderly evolution of progressive statesmanship. The second class, again, includes those cases where intelligence, character, and public spirit, of their own initiative and without being regimented for the purpose, cry out for a legitimate share in the public councils, as for example when the wealthy, prosperous, and intelligent Middle-Classes of the great towns and boroughs hitherto excluded, demanded the Franchise in 1832. In all cases of this nature, where the cry is unforced and spontaneous, and not a cry of the few dragging after them for their own ends a long tail of camp-followers, all such demands may be granted on the asking, without danger to orderly evolution and statesmanship.

Now it was mainly with these two classes of political problems that Burke had to deal, and in simply following the widening demands of public opinion he was following the true lines of Practical Statesmanship. But when theories or abstractions entered into the questions with which he was confronted, his attitude and procedure were quite different. Abstract theories on the Rights of Man, Liberty, Equality, and the like, he could not tolerate, and when confronted with any question of this kind he insisted on stripping every shred of theory from off it at the outset, going sometimes too far in the opposite direction as in his celebrated onslaught on the principles of the French Revolution.

The procedure of Gladstone, on the other hand, in reference to those political problems with which he had to deal, and into which theory and speculation entered so largely—problems such as whether the limits of the Empire should be contracted or advanced, whether Free-trade or Protection were better in any individual case, whether population should be encouraged or restrained, to what extent and under what conditions Universal Suffrage, or Laissez-faire, or the principle of Collectivism should be admitted, and so on, problems all of which must tax the deepest penetration and insight, and which when not altogether insoluble, are to be solved only by a wide

knowledge of their evolution and history, or a wide and deep insight into the web of causes and consequences in which they lie as separate threads;—the procedure of Gladstone in regard to these was quite different from that of Burke, and although having all the superficial appearance of Practical Statesmanship, was in its substance and essence as dangerous as it was illusory and misleading. It was based in too many instances, on the simple and natural but most dangerous principle of waiting until a popular cry had become loud enough and had presumably enough votes at its back to bring it within the range of practical politics, and then framing a measure which should give effect to it. We have in previous chapters seen the way in which the political cries of Liberty and Equality, of Laissez-faire, Universal Suffrage and the rest, arose, as *means* for the removal of definite grievances or the attainment of definite political ends, and how when blown by reverberation and repetition they became ends in themselves, sacred political principles, which when applied to other circumstances than those they were originally designed to meet, or when given an extension beyond the immediate necessities of the age and time, became mischievous, and as dangerous as double-edged swords. Now in dealing with them, Gladstone in spite of his high personal character and aims, his unsullied moral integrity, the care with which he proceeded, and the reluctance with which he entered on organic reforms of any magnitude until he felt that public opinion was ripe for them—Gladstone accepted these cries, overblown as they were, in all simplicity and good faith as they came wafted down to him on the popular breeze; accepting the shouts of the miscellaneous multitude to whom Beaconsfield had flung the suffrage, on these and other difficult and purely *intellectual* questions as unhesitatingly as on those *moral* questions where, as we have seen, this course is usually a safe one—a fatal confusion of thought in a Practical Statesman. It was a sailing not by the chart but by the shouts from the shore—a most dangerous as well as most unscientific pro-

cedure,—it was a running of the wheels of State not by letting in just the right quantity of water to the mills, but by opening the flood-gates to the full, and drowning the works! And it was only the existence of a thoughtful and responsible Press as moderating influence, standing between the miscellaneous multitude on the one hand and the Government on the other, that kept legislation fairly steady at all.

And now having exhibited some instances of the false and dangerous practice into which the Practical Statesmen of the Nineteenth Century have fallen owing to the existence of certain illusions from which they would have been saved had they had before them a chart of the evolution of the various problems with which they were called upon to deal, I propose in the next chapter to show in a general way how I conceive political problems are to be approached, focussed, as it were, and handled, if we are to get the full benefits which I expect to accrue from a wider knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization in general, than is usually thought necessary at the present time.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZATION.

BEFORE proceeding to the main subject of this chapter it may be as well perhaps to pause for a moment to recapitulate the general line of our argument thus far, in order that the scope and direction of its various turns and windings may be clearly seen. To begin with, then, it will be remembered that we set out to ascertain if possible to what extent, if any, Speculative Thought and Philosophic History could be of definite service to Practical Statesmanship; and after considering the matter from various points of view we saw reason for believing that if the Practical Statesman could be helped by them to a chart which should mark out the track of the orbit of Civilization, as it were, he would be saved from as many quicksands as the mariner to whom a chart is given by which to steer instead of tacking about empirically at the mercy of wind and tide. And the reason we gave for believing that the Practical Statesman really required some such help was that without it he was almost sure to fall into certain illusions which unless consciously allowed for would, like magnetic ore concealed in rocks, insensibly deflect him from his true course and become a source of waste or dangerous reaction to the State. And to make good this position and to give it a scientific basis we were obliged to go back a little and to show in general terms that the World was led on its way by

a series of abstract Ideals or ideal Abstractions, each of which was seen to dominate many ages and epochs of the world's history, and which were of different characters and aspects—now mainly spiritual, now mainly moral, and again mainly political—and as instances we selected as illustration the Spiritual Ideal of Jesus Himself, then the Ascetic Ideal of the Middle Ages, then again the Moral Ideal of the Reformation, and lastly the modern Political Ideal of Liberty and Equality. We then went on to show that although these ideals were in reality only *means* for attaining certain definite concrete ends, they were always regarded by the people of the time in which they were supreme, as *ends* in themselves, and were pursued as such. But on making more searching analysis we found that if these ends could be realised throughout the entire breadth of society they would become suicidal; and we argued that although the attempt to realise them to the full was essential to Progress in its earlier stages, it was nevertheless purchased at as great waste and expense as in those methods of fertilization by the wind, where thousands or even millions of seeds must be scattered for every one that takes root and continues the species. And from this again we concluded, that if we could get anything like a scientific chart of the actual progress of the world, it would save all this waste, this tacking about first this way then that,—now running right up to those abstract Ideals to find them recede the more the more we approached, now turning in reaction and tacking across to the side of mere Force again, but Force softened and humanized by the lustres and aromas shed by the abstract Ideals. And continuing we saw that in the early periods of the Christian Era and indeed all along down the centuries to the time of the French Revolution, the path of Civilization ran between a continuous line or chain of Physical Force on the one hand (as represented by Feudalism and the other military régimes that succeeded it), and a series of great Abstract Ideals each dominating many ages or centuries on the other—the spiritual

ideal of Jesus, the Catholic ideal of Asceticism, the Reformation ideal of Morality, and lastly the political ideal of Liberty and Equality—Civilization at great waste and expense posting zigzag backwards and forwards, as it were, between the two sides and knitting them together as best it could; and with result at the end of the process, in place of a Pagan Europe, a Europe moralized and Christianized in the widest sense of that term. Here, then, one sees that the path of Civilization, like the Earth's orbit, follows a line drawn somewhere between the opposing pulls of centrifugal and centripetal forces; between the pull of Physical Force on the one side, and the pull of the Ideal in its many forms on the other. But we saw also that if this line were cut through at any point with the object of taking stock of the composition of society at that point, it would be found to contain, like a line representing the evolution of human love, a greater proportion of Brute Force in its earlier stages, a greater proportion of the Ideal as we approach our own time. It is the same since the French Revolution, where we shall find that, as in the preceding centuries, the line will cut its course between Physical Force on the one hand and the various abstract Political Ideals on the other; but with this difference, that as since the French Revolution the world has added the ideal of Liberty and Equality to the ideals which lit up the preceding centuries, the path of realised Civilization will be found to run so much the nearer to the line on which the abstract Ideals lie; sometimes, indeed, as at the time of the Revolution, running quite into it and getting itself singed for its rashness; but over and over again when it approached too near and tried to realise its other ideals,—its Negro-franchise, Universal Suffrage, Laissez-faire, Peace-at-any-price, Socialism, Universal Philanthropy, and so on,—being thrown back into temporary reaction and obstruction. For these ideals, as we have seen from their evolution and history, were all overblown and hollow; and although they were useful in their place and time, the attempt

to make society stand and work on them as on a solid pavement has, as is now seen, everywhere failed, and been followed by dangerous reactions. And indeed we shall not go far wrong if we say, that never again in all probability will any European country try to govern itself either by the instruments selected by street-mobs, or from the principles or points of view which approve themselves to these mobs, in the way in which it was attempted in the French Revolution; never again will a country in the position of America give the franchise to emancipated negro-slaves, nor indeed would America herself had the question to be decided again to-morrow; never again will Laissez-faire be erected into a principle of Government, as it was in England at the time of the Factory Acts over fifty years ago; nor will Peace-at-any-price be the political motto of States in a world swarming with potential foes and haunted with 'yellow' and other terrors always dimly present in the background. And if Socialism should ever erect itself into a system of Government, it is not probable that it will do so on the merely abstract utopia of payment by 'labour-time' alone.

At one time it was believed that Government by opposite Parties would supply the corrective to all exaggeration or excess, but this, as might have been foreseen, has proved to be an illusion; for in a system of government by Parliamentary majorities, legislation must *alternate* between the too little when one party is in power, and the too much when the other, and will rarely be found to settle on the happy mean between them; while it has, besides, this fatal drawback, that the too much, as in Universal Suffrage for example, cannot be withdrawn again without encountering great difficulties and dangers. From all of which it is evident that the true path for the Practical Statesman to follow is not the outside track, as it were, of the abstract Ideals, but along a line well within it, and lying between it on the one hand and the line of pure Physical Force on the other; the composition of society always being a mixture of the two, and depending for its proportion of each

on the stage of evolution reached; the ideal elements becoming more pronounced as we come along to Modern Times, while the elements of force, like the gibbet, the slaughter-house and other disagreeable necessities of civilization, become either less in themselves or more and more concealed from public view.

Indeed without some chart of Civilization in general, the most penetrating Philosophers are as much at sea as the Statesmen, and go to as great extremes. Take Carlyle for example, who for direct penetration into men and things was in many ways unequalled in his time. No one saw more clearly than he the hollowness and absurdity of making Liberty and Equality *all*, in a world where Inequality must always be *half*, and where men, put them down where you please, will begin at once to strive with all their might to widen the inequality between themselves and their neighbours—in money, or honour, or fame, or consideration, or authority, or power, or what not—rather than to narrow it; no one saw more clearly the absurdity of the cry of Laissez-faire or administrative Nihilism in a world where the very end and aim of man's conscious activity is to reduce the chaos around him by interfering with it at every point and in every sphere, from wild Nature up to Government, making the wrong right, and the crooked straight; no one saw more clearly the hollowness of the old Political Economy with shirts piled high in warehouses, while men with bare backs went crying aloud in the streets for want of work or wages with which to purchase them—no one saw all this more clearly than Carlyle, but when it came to what he himself proposed should be done, having no chart by which to steer, he threw himself on pure Force, and preached that alone. Instead of treating these abstract Ideals as useful *means* when employed under severe restrictions as to time and place and the work to be done, he would not have them on any terms, even as occasional or temporary expedients. Remembering that all the great epoch-making transactions of the world had been consummated by Physical Force, whatever Ideal they may have carried with

them or held in solution; remembering that it was by force that Rome overthrew the power and dominion of Greece, and the Barbarians, in turn, of Rome; that it was by force that Mahomet won for the East a higher religion than the idolatries he supplanted; that by force Cromwell crushed the despotism of the Stuarts; and by force Napoleon and the armies of the Revolution opened up liberty to the down-trodden subjects of European tyranny;—remembering all this, and perceiving the hollow and unsubstantial nature of the ideals that were everywhere swaying the world, Carlyle proposed to give a free hand to whatsoever Cromwell or Mirabeau should arrive at the supreme power, and to let him work his will on these overblown unrealities of the suffrage, ballot-box, Laissez-faire, and the rest, without let or hindrance; as if national character, custom, and the hierarchy of constitutional authorities and powers coming down from antiquity were all to disappear, not at the stroke of a pen as in the utopias he denounced, but at the gleam of a sword;—and with what result? To leave the great masses of men to a mechanical obedience merely, without aspiration, hope, encouragement, or self-respect, to all time. It is true that Carlyle in identifying the line of true Statesmanship with that of Physical Force, saves his conscience and heart by the reflection that true Power always contains within itself the Ideal; but to this we can only reply, true, perhaps, that the Ideal is there, but then with as little chance of exhibiting its ideal qnalities from that situation, as the lamb from *inside* the wolf! The great epoch-making periods of the world being due according to Carlyle to the genius, energy, initiative, and resource of a few great men, Civilization was figured by him as a series of breaks, catastrophes, over-turns, physical and moral earthquakes, rather than as a steady evolution, the product of many co-operating factors, and following a definite line or curve which no mere temporary upheavals can permanently disturb. It was as if he thought these miscellaneous discharges and explosions would of themselves hit the mark, without regard to

the sighting of the gun, the weight of the projectile, the effect of distance, gravitation, and the rest; and hence it was that with no chart of the evolution of Civilization at his back, his single recommendation—to get some strong explosive force in the shape of a Mirabeau, a Danton, or a Cromwell, and to give him a free hand, and let him fire away!—was as one-sided, impracticable, and incomplete, as those of the Statesmen against whom he railed.

From all of which one sees that the path of Civilization now as in the past, and in consequence the path of Practical Statesmanship, lies *between* the two great opposing necessities of Force and the Ideal, and will bear no deficiency or excess of either; between Physical Force on the one hand, including energy, initiative, resource, and all that group of qualities which cluster round the conception of Force as their centre; and on the other, those abstract Ideals or ideal Abstractions, religious, political, moral, which we have just passed under review; the first, Physical Force, being necessary, as in the struggle for existence among animals, to keep the breed strong, the physique vigorous, the emotions natural and human, the morals healthy and non-decadent; the abstract Ideals being necessary to lead on the imaginations and hearts of men through successive vistas to that golden age in the Future, which Rousseau fondly imagined to have existed in the Past. For if the Political Justice at which Practical Statesmanship aims is the attempt to follow in action the deep Tendencies of the World, or, in other words, to continue the line of development and evolution in the same direction as it has taken in the Past; then neither on the one hand is the Might of Carlyle, however effective and however much it may carry the Right and the Ideal *within* it, the true line either of individual, national, or World-development, nor on the other are the attempts to realise now and here and in their fulness and entirety those abstract Political and Moral Ideals by which each age has been led, and by which the minds of Statesmen

and Peoples have been fascinated and subdued; but rather some point between the two. And in this, as in everything he touched, we see how supreme was the penetration of Shakespeare, who made Practical Statesmanship not a matter of War, Conquest, Brute Force, or even of the general will; nor yet of the abstract Ideals by which men are impelled; but rather of a cross or compromise between the two, as it were. It is in his "Troilus and Cressida," that the doctrine is definitely enunciated by him. For in recommending Agamemnon to re-assert that authority with his troops which the sulking of Achilles in his tent had for the time destroyed, Ulysses is made to say in a parenthesis as if to emphasize it the more, that it is "between the endless jar of right and wrong" that Justice resides; that is to say, as we see from the context, that it resides in that orderly hierarchy of organized powers which lies between unregulated brute force on the one hand, and abstract liberty and equality on the other. It is between the swing and play of these opposite tendencies, he thinks, that true Statesmanship resides; and whether it shall approach more nearly the side of Force, Possession, Power, or shall veer towards the side of the higher ideals of Virtue and Morality will depend, as we have seen, on the age and time of the world, and the point in the Evolution of Civilization that has been already reached; but at no time short of the millennium will it be possible to do without a mixture of *both* in some proportion or other. Life, says Emerson, is everywhere a mixture of Power and Form, and will bear no excess of either; and the remark is as true of Practical Politics as of Life.

But we shall not have satisfactorily accomplished the task we have set ourselves in these chapters unless we can explain why men should have pursued for a whole century or more these abstract Ideals of Liberty and Equality and so on, as with a first love; and why it is only now at the beginning of this new century that they are slackening in the ardour of their pursuit. And the answer will help to clear up the third great

illusion bearing on political matters into which men are liable to fall, and to which it will be convenient here to refer. The reason, then, in a word, why men have pursued so ardently these abstract Ideals is that they have identified them with Justice itself; and the reason they have been able to identify them with Justice in spite of the fact that, as we saw, the line of Civilization runs not along the outside margin or rim on which they lie, but considerably within it, as it were;—the reason they have been able to so identify them is because they have conceived Justice to be some single thing or act, or a series of separate things or acts, whereas it is always a double thing as it were, a double movement made up of the act *plus* its consequences, of the initial movement *and* its recoil; a movement which will be just or not, according as to whether like a boomerang it comes back harmlessly to your hand, or so as to hit you on the head! And this illusion, again, of Justice being some single or separate act, is aggravated by another which in political matters at least, where you have to deal with great masses of men, is still more disastrous; the illusion, namely, that when once this single act or series of acts of alleged justice has been done, all will remain as before, except that one or more good deeds will have been added to the sum-total of those already in the world. A particular class or body of men, for example, have been living under hardships, limitations, and disabilities, which cramp their development and expansion, and the impulse stirs within you to try and do something for them. If it happen to be in a warlike age you put swords, perhaps, into their hands, with which to defend themselves against their enemies; if it is a peaceful age and it is education they need, you give it them, or you give them the full franchise for their protection, or perhaps you give their representatives a prominent place in your executive councils; and having done these things you congratulate yourself that you have corrected the injustice under which they were labouring, fondly imagining that things will now remain as they are, just as you

have left them. Fond illusion! For the world is not a block of stone, but a rolling wheel, and what was on the top to-day will be on the ground to-morrow, and *vice versâ*, and you will scarcely have turned round before the class which was down, reinforcing itself on all sides by means of the new weapons which have been put into its hands, will gradually encroach until what was originally obtained by concession, will at last be demanded and extorted by force; and as the wheel of Time continues to roll, those who were under will soon be at the top, and the pyramid which at first stood on its base, will be swaying and rocking on its apex, perhaps;—and all for what? That one set of poor creatures may replace another, while the great bulk will be neither better nor worse than before. Now in cases like these, which are almost typical when classes of men are concerned, where is the justice, one asks? At the time of the French Revolution for example, the Girondins who were in a great majority in the Convention, thinking they would give some of the Mountain, their enemies, a chance, put a large proportion of them on the new Committee of Public Safety which was then being formed for the more summary jurisdiction of crimes against the State. These latter had barely taken their seats when the simple Girondins who had placed them there, found themselves among the first batches of the accused, and some twenty-two or more of them, as soon as they could be caught, were sent to the guillotine without remark. Justice! As well hand the keys of your safe to the burglars with apologies for keeping them so long waiting, as give over the power possessed by one class to another on any mere Pecksniffian grounds of abstract Justice. The law is as true of individuals as of classes, but is not so easily demonstrated owing to the difficulty of fixing them in definite relations; but the domestic servant question will give one some hint of its truth. No! Justice does not reside in single acts or series of acts, but in acts that complete and integrate themselves in their circle of consequences; it is always, as we have said, a

double thing, an act *plus* its consequences, or like the boomerang to which we compared it, a throw *and* its recoil. It is not in building for criminals model prisons more spacious and comfortable than the dwellings of honest men, that Justice resides; not in throwing the franchise to the mob to be scrambled for as if it were a holiday largesse; not in establishing soup kitchens for tramps and vagabonds; not in giving your coat also, or turning your other cheek to the smiter always; not in relinquishing things merely because they are demanded in the name of some abstract Ideal;—it is not in these things that Justice necessarily resides. On the contrary whether they are just or not will depend precisely on the use that is made of them, and the consequences that are seen to flow from them.

It is the same with those abstract Political Ideals of Liberty and Equality, Laissez-faire, Universal Suffrage, and the rest, which lie on the outermost rim of policy, as it were, and have been pursued for a century or more because they were believed to be identified with Justice herself. They will prove to have been just or not according to their demonstrable consequences, and not at all from any superiority they may claim from their *pseudo*-relationship to the sacred family of the Ideals. That they are not identical with Justice we have already seen; inasmuch as they lie *outside* the line of that curve of Civilization which as having alone been realised by the World is the only criterion we can have of what may be called World-justice; we have also reason to suspect it *à posteriori* from their failure when regarded as *ends* in themselves, and from the fact that they are now beginning to be relegated to what was always their true function, namely to be used as means for certain well defined ends, and to be thrown aside when those ends are realised and their work is done.

But if these abstract Political Ideals which have dominated the whole of the Nineteenth Century be neither ends themselves nor embodiments of justice, but are only *means*, we have still to

ask—means for specially what? To which we can reply unhesitatingly and with full assent, means for further *instalments* of justice, and for the greater and greater elevation and expansion of the great masses of men. This is the very end, we may say, of Nature herself, and she will stick at nothing that will help her to progressively realize it. Observe, for example, how circuitously she worked to supplant Paganism by Christianity. To get the new and higher morality of Christianity, a new conception of God was necessary. For this purpose a small tribe, the Jews, was selected, isolated, set apart, and bred specially for the purpose, until the needed conception of God was engraven on their hearts. This accomplished, the civilized world had next to be prepared for impregnation by it, and a large area to be set apart for its peaceful incubation. This, too, had not been overlooked; for centuries before, a small Latin tribe, after conquering its neighbouring and rival tribes in Italy, had carried its arms across the seas and extended its conquests on all sides until the whole Western world submitted to its sway. And then it was that by the side of the conquering legions, the missionaries of the new religion walked, and, protected by the Roman Peace, sowed the good seed. But as it spread in widening swathes farther and farther from its base, and took the masses of all lands in great batches into its fold, the original vigour of the new Gospel it carried with it became quenched in the watery *media* of the world; and it was only by persecution and death that it could be blown to its pristine glow again. Thus renewed, its early glories revived for a time, but at last the Latin races that now peopled the Empire,—effete, exhausted, and corrupted by servility and despotism,—were no longer able to realise and sustain its spirit; and a noble reserve of fresh and uncorrupted manhood had to be found to renew the soil. This was supplied by the Barbarian Invaders of the Empire from the Danubian forests and the German Sea, with their high and uncorrupted independence and pride; but in the process of engrafting the new morality of

Christianity on the wild native stock of Barbarism, not only the morality but the religion by which it was consecrated had to sink its purity and to suffer its virtues to be mixed with the ranker growths of a more primitive soil. These Pagan elements and impurities thus admitted into the Catholic creed, the Reformation had to weed out and to purge away; but in the political storms which followed in its wake, the separate Kingdoms and States of Europe, which had never ceased to feel the over-lordship of the Imperial hand (although its authority had been fast becoming a shade), managed to shake off the last vestiges of its yoke and set up for themselves as independent political sovereignties. Swiftly converting themselves into so many petty despotisms, they threatened by their tyranny to baulk the Reformation of its fruit;—for that inner morality of the spirit, which that great movement had opened up to men, and which required free will as the very condition of its exercise, was choked by the loss of that freedom of thought which these temporal despotisms had suppressed; and it was not until a new goddess under the name of Political Liberty arose to fire the hearts and imaginations of men, that these old Bastilles could be thrown down, and Humanity itself enter on a new stage. For now Democracy was at last born into the world, and was thenceforth to make itself the organ of Peoples as against the despotism of Kings, Nobility, and Priests. But the great mass of Workers were still enslaved; for new Capitalism had stepped in to take the place of old Feudalism, and the proletariate, the place of the serfs. And it was to lift this dead mass at the foot of the social scale, to scrub it into decency and self-respect, to give it a sense of honour, and to prepare it for the responsibilities of a civic existence;—it was for this elevation and expansion of the great masses of men, that those great abstract Political Ideals which we have already passed under review were called forth as weapons or instruments; weapons or instruments in the first instance for securing them that *equality of power* which should place them on a level

with their masters in their bargainings with them, and through it that equality of rights and opportunities which can only be had in this way; so helping to push Humanity upwards and onwards another stage. For until this has been accomplished, and all men have equal opportunity given them of becoming whatever by nature they are capable of being, these and other abstract Ideals, however much we may rail at them for their exaggeration and excess, their wastefulness and even danger, will, we may rely upon it, continue to flourish; and under them as under banners of righteousness and justice, the peoples will continue to march. But although Nature will get her way by these methods if not by other and better, still, just as Reason is given to man in order that he may adjust his efforts and actions to the complicated and continually shifting contingencies of life, without waste or excess, and by means more and more accurately graded and adjusted to the ends he has in view; so it is desirable that Civilization should attain its ends with the least wastefulness, expenditure, or danger; not only by methods of peace rather than of war, by freedom rather than by despotism, by diplomacy and calculations of expediency rather than by brute force, but also by an even and normal progression rather than by zigzag, dislocation, and reaction. Were this once secured it would be as great a triumph of Practical Statesmanship as would the reduction to a minimum of gluts and seasons of out-of-work be of Industrialism; and for it we have to look for guidance to the evolution of Civilization as it has come down to us from the Past. But here it seems right that I should remark that this chart of the course of Civilization in the Past is not intended to reduce life to a mathematical formula, or a calculated expediency; it is not intended to exclude those generous enthusiasms after higher and better conditions which are the salt of life, or to repress those nobler spirits who are to be fired only by great and as yet unrealised ideals; but only to prick and let escape what is gaseous, unsound, and unreal about these ideals; to balance and

temper them by their opposites; or to hold them in leash and reserve until all the necessary adjuncts and collaterals have been brought up into line, and until times and conditions are ripe for their realization. This chart is intended rather for the use of those Practical Statesmen who have to judge and decide between opposing courses, as well as of that large mass of intelligent and disinterested observers of no special shade of politics, who, like a jury, hold the balance even between the clamour of opposing counsel, and between the claims of opposing interests, ideals, and fanaticisms; and who by their impartiality and weight exist to give steadiness and consistency, unity and continuity to the policy of States.

But there is a more general reason why some such scientific chart of Civilization as that I have indicated should be available for the purposes of Practical Statesmanship, and that is that the great successes of certain nations over others have up to the present been due mainly to the natural advantages which Providence or Fate has thrown in their way, and not to human insight or foresight at all; and that therefore when these advantages begin to fail through lapse of time or the rise of competitors still better endowed, and in consequence have to be supplemented by management and ability, the resources of Science must be called in to make good the deficiencies of Nature or Fortune. Excluding for a moment the inventive genius of the people, which had it been non-existent could have been imported from abroad and paid for like any other commodity, the power and prosperity of England, for example, are clearly due to her vast coal and iron fields; while to her insular position is due her security and to a large extent her political liberty. The absence of huge standing armies which this insular position has rendered unnecessary, and the wealth which has always been adequate for the support of a powerful navy, have made an untempered despotism almost impossible in these islands. But it is when we contrast the free institutions of England with the despotisms of the Continent, that we see

still more clearly that this freedom is due rather to the chances of fortune than to the genius of her rulers. In all the countries of the Roman Empire overrun by the Barbarian Invaders, save England alone, the native populations were reduced to slavery or serfdom and degraded to the condition of an inferior caste living under a different code of laws from that of their conquerors; and forming like the negroes of the Southern States, a class apart. In Italy it was the native Latin population, in Germany numerous tribes of Slavs, in France the old Gallo-Roman peoples, and in Spain the completely Romanized inhabitants of the peninsula. In England alone was the native Celtic population practically driven out or exterminated; most of those who survived taking refuge in the mountains of Wales and Scotland, where they continued to lead an independent life under their own chieftains. The consequences of this for the future of English liberties were immense. For the personal independence and individual liberty of the Saxon and other invaders, which Tacitus describes—their trial by their peers, and so on—could now that the natives were driven out, be practically reproduced in their new home; so that in England the smallest freeholders of from ten to twenty acres enjoyed the same personal and legal rights as the highest of the nobility; and this through all subsequent changes of race and dynasty they never lost; whereas on the Continent and especially in France the fact that the Barbarian invaders were a comparatively small handful when spread out over so vast a territory, made it inevitable that the enjoyment of the full rights and privileges of conquest should stop short at some point in the circles of infeudation far above the material condition of the small freeholders in England,—who indeed in France would fall among the rank of serfs bound to the soil, and who, held down from the beginning by feudal and monarchical despotism, may be said never to have regained their freedom until the French Revolution. All of which as we see has been a matter of Fate or Fortune rather than of human foresight; indeed had it not been for the

mere chance of the practical extermination of the Celt rather than his reduction to serfdom, freedom and free institutions would have been as far to seek in England as they have been in France and elsewhere,—as the condition of Ireland to this hour, where the natives have remained a subject race, would itself sufficiently testify. And hence the necessity, now that the struggle for existence among nations in its full intensity is only just beginning, for some scheme of Scientific Politics over and above the mere hand-to-mouth Expediency which has prevailed up to the present time.

In the next chapter I shall offer some remarks of a general character on the obscuring complications which have to be removed before the principles drawn from a survey of the movements of Civilization can be applied with the hope of obtaining useful results, together with such observations of a general character bearing on Politics as have not been able to find for themselves a place in preceding chapters.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

IN approaching practical political problems, the first observation I would make is that the facts must be stripped, as we have already seen, of all the false haloes, the abstract ideals, and other overblown political fetishes with which they have been bound up,—of all those theories, in a word, which have grown out of local or particular sets of circumstances, such, for example, as those which we saw were bred of the French Revolution and the Factory System, as Liberty and Equality, Universal Suffrage, Laissez-faire, and the rest, which we have discussed in the preceding pages; the facts, in short, must be stripped of all theories or doctrines or ideals whatsoever that are based on any experience less wide than universal human nature, or less extended than the entire course of Civilization,—or at any rate than that portion of it which covers the ground between the ancient world and the world of to-day. But there are political theories and doctrines, it may be said, which are neither overblown, unsound, nor partial, but which, on the contrary, have in the abstract at least, and under fixed and definite conditions, a kind of mathematical certainty and truth; such, for example, as the Malthusian Law of Population, the Ricardian Law of Rent, the Gospel of Free-Trade, and the like;—what, it may be asked, are we to do with these? Are they not to be applied to those special aspects of politics and

society to which they have reference? To which I would reply, not necessarily so. For just as in the diseases and disorders of the human body it is often the worst policy to apply those remedies which we know have the power of reaching or touching the special organs affected, but is much wiser to treat the organism as a whole, or in its more general elements, as, for example, the blood, the nervous system, or even the mind itself, trusting that with the general improvement of nourishment or tone, the special pains and aches will disappear of themselves; so too is it with the disorders of nations and States. A country, for example, may be committed to a thoroughgoing protective policy in its commercial relations with the rest of the world; or it may be overcrowded with a population greater than its food-supply can support; or its soil, again, may be in the hands of a few great proprietors; or its government may be an unlimited despotism; or one out of five of its adult population may be a drunkard; and yet the key to the situation may neither be Free-Trade, though true as an abstract economic doctrine; nor yet the restraint of Population, though the law of Malthus would in time, if not counteracted, so overcrowd the world with people as to leave to each man but bare standing room; nor yet again need the expropriation of the Landlords, or the taking over of the land by the State be the true policy, although the Ricardian Law of Rent if given free play would reduce the great bulk of the nation to a bare subsistence; no, nor even the abolition of Despotism, which when unrestrained has so often ended in reducing the fairest and most fertile provinces of the earth to deserts; nor yet again the total extinction of the Drink-traffic, although of all social curses, drink at present is the worst; —not any one or all of these may necessarily be the true remedy for the social disorders, although each and all are abstractly applicable to some one or other side of the problem with which the country is confronted; but something, perhaps, quite different and more general may be the true remedy, as,

for example, a moral renovation, or a war of principle, or a religious revolution, or what not. Or again, just as a cancer in some one organ of the body may be the cause of all the general debility and decline from which the patient is suffering, and which can only be cured by the eradication of the disease in that one organ; so in the body politic it may be either the protective policy alone, or the tenure of land, or the encouragement given to over-population, or political corruption, or the drink question that may be at the root of all the evils from which the country in question is suffering, and which can be removed by attacking and removing that special cause of trouble alone. Or perhaps a political revolution out-and-out is what is wanted to clear the ground of all the old institutions, and to give humanity free air and a fresh impulse all round. Or, finally, the end may be best attained, more gradually but more surely, by the steady pushing forward of all partial reforms, each by its own devotees, along the whole line of front in an orderly and progressive evolution. But whichever way it may be, what we have to insist on is that Society being an organism and not a mere mechanical aggregate of unrelated individuals, it cannot be treated as a patient often is by a nurse or by a quack, by putting a blister here or a hot bottle there, according to the seat of pain, although it might sometimes chance that this was the right thing to be done, but only by the help of a wide knowledge of the relations of all the parts of the body politic to each other and to the whole, and by a wisdom which is capable of discerning in which of the ailing centres or organs the true cause of the disease lies, by attacking which successfully all the other disorders will disappear of themselves. So that at the outset and before attempting to handle a political problem of any complexity it is necessary to strip the facts first of all false or overblown abstractions and doctrines bred of circumstances and conditions, local and temporary; and secondly of all doctrines which although possessing an abstract validity *in vacuo* as it were, or under fixed and

unchanging conditions, may or may not be applicable to the complex circumstances of any given time or place.

The third observation I would make, and one of the most important in its bearings on Practical Politics, is that while all the great movements and reforms incidental to advancing Civilization are being pushed actively to the front by their respective adherents, often independently of each other—the Temperance movement, the Socialist movement, the Women's Rights movement, the movement for alteration in the Marriage Laws, for Peace between nations, and so on—no one of them can be allowed to pass over into legislation until all its collaterals and supports, as it were, have come up into line, on pain of reaction and disappointment. We have seen how the German Socialists of a few years ago would have established their utopia by force if they could, nothing doubting, and that too before a single other factor necessary to its support was ready;—before industries had been concentrated into great central organizations controlling wide areas of production and exchange; before tradition, custom, habit, and the sentiment of attachment to the old order had been seriously impaired; before the doctrines of Socialism had had time to permeate the general mind; and more curious than all, when those who were to bring about the revolution were but a handful of the whole population. As well expect the descendants of Cromwell to be allowed to succeed peacefully to the throne while an heir of the Stuarts in the direct line was still living and anxious to reign! One used to hear propositions for establishing republican institutions in old-established hereditary monarchies made as lightly as if hereditary succession were a mere paper document and there was nothing to do but to decree it annulled. France did so a hundred years ago and still retains and may continue to retain her republican form of government under great difficulties; but with a country surrounded like her on all hands by jealous and watchful enemies armed to the teeth, is it not absurd to express surprise when the army chiefs venture to slight the civil authorities, and when the whole nation declares

with one voice its resolve that the Army shall suffer no stain, —and acts accordingly? From which it seems that things, *i.e.*, facts and situations, will make their own logic and morality in spite of politicians or priests. Again, in pushing the movement for the alterations in the marriage laws, for greater freedom of divorce, and almost for free love, the advocates of these causes often argue as if the institution of the Family, which is the basis of civil Society and of the State, had nothing to do with the matter, as if it did not exist or were a mere circumstance that could be left out of account in the argument or lightly set aside. Then again why is universal peace not decreed? It seems so easy to refrain from doing one another injuries. Because other things have not come up into line; because boundaries, for example, are still unsettled, and ambitions can still dodge the balance of power, and find loopholes for personal aggrandizement in the interstices caused by the jealousies of States. All men, again, praise Liberty and Equality as an ideal, why then are they not realized? Because although people want them for themselves they do not want them for others, and so they are only half wanted after all! Besides, while inequality of conditions is permitted to continue, the equality of persons cannot be maintained. Why, again, are the corruptions of city governments so difficult to put down? Because every isolated body of persons from a family to a nation, if left to themselves without outside control, will work and plan until they have brought it about that one person or party or section shall have power over the others;—in fact until you bring in the outside element, neither preaching nor prayers will avail. Why is the brutality of husbands towards their wives, among the wage-earners in England, so difficult to deal with? Because the punishment of the husband, by stopping his employment, punishes the wife and family as well. Why, as a last instance, does the State support out of the rates and taxes an enormous body of able-bodied paupers (containing not more at any time on the strictest calculation than two per cent of genuine working

men out of employment) supplying them with food of the best quality and more generous in quantity than that on which the great bulk of the honest poor are obliged to live? Because the working man believes these are his brother-workers fallen on evil days which in the vicissitudes of trade may any day be his own lot. But set a committee of trusted working-men in every parish to enquire into the matter and report to their fellow workmen the truth; and so by altering opinion, the casual wards would be empty in a month. All of which goes to show that the collaterals (material and mental) of every advancing political movement must be ready, like the commissariat and communications of an army, before the general forward march as expressed in legislation can begin; and therefore the first question to ask in reference to proposed legislation is—what is the state of these correlates and collaterals? If they are not ready, the time for legislation has not yet come; all hardships and injustices in the meantime having to be dealt with by a wider range of machinery and discretionary power in the hands of those who administer the existing laws. Is it not strange that the whole resources of the State are strained, and whole armies of policemen kept at work to discover who stole a particular sixpence or loaf of bread; but when you want to ascertain whether a drunken or vicious husband has or has not so far ruined his home as to give his wife grounds for a separation or divorce, the machinery for ascertaining that fact is still to find?

With these preliminary observations on the way in which the Practical Political Problems of separate States are to be approached, we may now advance to the consideration of the questions affecting the nations in general, and the first point we would remark is, that although the line of direction of advancing Civilization has to be carried to the next stage by the nations in common, it by no means follows that they should all carry it forward .in some single way or on some single pattern; but just as in the commercial intercourse of nations the interests of all are best subserved by each concentrating on

those products for which its soil, climate, or the genius of its people is more peculiarly adapted, whether it be wine or silk, or corn or hardware, or any other commodity, so in carrying Civilization forward to its next stage the interests of the world are best subserved by each nation specialising as it were, and turning out such products of its peculiar genius as could not be developed to the same extent or with the same advantages elsewhere;—products which can then pass to and fro between the nations by a process of mental exchange, as the industrial products do by a commercial exchange. It was in this way that, quite unconsciously as it were, Civilization was carried forward in the Past. Greece, for example, has forever dowered the after-time of the world with models of Art and Beauty which the nations have only to adopt to be at once lifted from barbarism in Art to a taste and style which whole ages of evolution and cultivation of their own would not have availed them to produce. So too the Jews wrung from their own sweat and blood a conception of God with which they have inoculated the world, a conception to which a few isolated poets and philosophers only in other lands had been able of their own genius to climb; and which the great masses of the Pagan world during all the succeeding centuries, if left to themselves, would not in all probability have attained. The Romans, again, bequeathed to those barbarous nations who entered on their heritage a system of Jurisprudence to which each of these nations can go as to a great quarry, to select such stones, whether for foundation or for superstructure, as best harmonise with their inner genius or spirit, but which it would have taken them ages of themselves to evolve. In the same way among the nations of the present day, amid much that is promiscuous and confused, one may see traces of distinct differentiation in the intellectual, moral, and political elements which they are throwing into the common stock of Civilization, —notably in the case of England, Germany, France, and America. And with this slight reference to the specialization and

differentiation of modern nations in reference to each other and to Civilization as a whole, we may now make a few observations on the important question of Imperialism and the subject races of the world. But as the view which I am to take of it will involve several distinct lines of thought and consideration which have been touched on in previous chapters, it may be as well perhaps to pause and leisurely pick them up again on our way.

The first as we saw is, that until the Millennium comes Civilized Society will always be a composite of Physical Force on the one hand and the Ideal on the other; compounded in such proportions that the farther we advance the more pronounced will the ideal elements become, while the elements of Force will retire more and more into the background and be concealed from view;—the Force never being entirely absent, nor the Ideal ever present in its abstract naked purity. We saw too that what is called Social Justice resides neither in the pure Force nor yet in the pure Ideal, but in the oscillation and interplay, or, as Shakespeare has it, the "endless jar" between the two. And we may now go a step farther and add that as Physical Force will always be a constituent element in Civilization, its function will not only be that of defending the Society in question against its enemies from without, and keeping order and giving security and stability to its institutions within, but also of subjugating, protecting, and possibly in the end displacing the lower and more primitive races of the world;—a task to which Civilization is probably as much committed in its evolution as Nature was to the displacement of the marsupials by the higher mammalia, or of the lower flora by the higher, in the evolution of the World at large. For if there be one thing more than another so universal in the method and course of Nature and Civilization that from it we can deduce the path which we ourselves ought to follow, it is this, that the interests of the individual are always subordinated or sacrificed to those of the species or society to

which it belongs, and the interests of the lower types to those of the higher in the scale of evolution. Any promiscuity, intermixture, or false cosmopolitanism that would interfere with the working of this plain ordinance of Nature is a retrogression as great as would be the intermarriage of the Apollo of the Vatican with the lowest type of African slave; but the manner in which the inferior race is utilised by the higher depends largely on the age of the world and the degree of civilization reached. In the most primitive savage times, to make room for the superior races of men, the ground was cleared of the inferior breeds by simple extermination; later, by reducing them to slavery or serfdom and making them do the menial labour while their masters devoted themselves to conquering, civilizing, and colonizing, or to the work of government and legislation. But as we come down the centuries the relation between the conquerors and conquered, between the civilized races and the barbarian or savage, follows the general sweep of the course of civilization by approaching nearer to the ideal, becoming in the most advanced races almost a moral and paternal relation. And here in passing we may remark that nowhere better than in this paternal relation is seen the true relation which should subsist between higher and lower races, that mixture of Force and the Ideal, of Authority and Sympathy, where Power is without brutality, and Respect without fear. And this, and not a false cosmopolitanism, is the true attitude which civilization prescribes at the present day to the superior conquering races in their relationship with conquered inferior peoples and tribes; neither extermination, slavery, serfdom, nor selfish exploitation on the one hand, nor yet on the other letting them govern themselves or giving the riches of the earth up to them while they sit and do nothing but bask in the sun, fitting them with ideal constitutions and endowing them with ideal abstract rights, mixing their ideas and your own into an indiscriminate promiscuity by means of universal suffrage and the ballot-box, as was imagined to be

the right thing fifty years ago, and so on. Not this is Social Justice, but administration, discipline, the protection of the lower by the higher, the iron hand being concealed and softened in the paternal glove. That this is the Social Justice of the situation, the just and true attitude of the superior to the lower races of the world at the present point in the evolution of civilization; that it is not only the right but the necessary thing to do in regard to them, varied and modified of course according to special circumstances, will be the more apparent when we reflect that Social Justice, as we saw in the last chapter, is not a single or separate act done without regard to its relations or consequences, but a double movement as it were, the act and its consequence, or, like the boomerang, the throw and its recoil. If this be true, then the taking over of the government of the inferior races is both a duty and a necessity. For either your inferior race, if it gets the chance, will like the wrestler who is on the ground, when his opponent releases his hold, roll over you in turn,—an utterly pointless proceeding because it only replaces a better by a worse, and so sets back civilization instead of advancing it,—or other races or nations not so well suited will press in and do the work of subjugation and conquest with less success, producing complications, perhaps, the worse for the world and mankind. And although this self-denial and absence of push, this milk-and-water cosmopolitanism sounds well, and would be admirable in private persons who *can* retire into themselves and lead the ideal life by giving the coat as well as the cloak and turning the other cheek also; in the relations between peoples where this is impossible as a principle of action, it is fatal.

And now we have to remark further that if in the civilization as in the industry of the world, the common good is best advanced by each nation cultivating to its highest point that particular product for which it is best adapted, and not by a false cosmopolitanism which would muddle all up together; and if

the Anglo-Saxon race whether in the East or West, from the imperial character of its people, its historical record, its past successes in colonizing the world and in dealing with inferior races, has a pre-eminence acknowledged by all; then it is not only its interest but its duty and privilege to assume these high imperial functions, for the happiness, prosperity, and elevation of mankind. And just as the natural relation of parents and children is the finest expression we have of the harmonious blending of Force and Authority with the Ideal of Sympathy and Love, so the protection of the weaker races by the stronger, their discipline, education, and moralization by higher standards of life, would seem to be the nearest approach we can get to that happy blending of Force and the Ideal which the present stage of Civilization demands, as at once the truest kindness and the truest justice. From all of which it would seem that neither a vague and watery cosmopolitanism on the one hand, nor a spirit of mercantile interference and exploitation on the other, is the true attitude of civilized States to the less civilized races; but an Imperial Magnanimity rather, in which the most advanced nations stand to each other, like the higher nobility in the best days of feudalism, on terms of absolute Independence and Equality; these again to the less advanced, like the higher nobility to the lower, in a relation at once of Equality and reciprocal good services; and all to the primitive races and peoples, like the nobility to the commonalty, or say rather like parents to their children, in the relation at once of Authority and Protection. For the state of the world as a whole to-day, with its superior, middle, and inferior powers shading downwards through the inferior races to primitive barbarism itself, is as nearly a counterpart as we can well have to the internal condition of the different States of Europe in Feudal times; and if Evolution, as is everywhere assumed in these volumes, be true, it must go through analagous stages in the future. Cosmopolitanism and Universal Philanthropy in their naked purity are, like

Liberty and Equality, abstract ideals not to be realised between nations now and here, without confusion, danger, and recoil; and in themselves, like a single sex, are barren. To make them fruitful and to produce offspring bound like the family at once in the sacred bonds of Discipline without Brutality and of Obedience and Respect without Fear, they must be wedded to Force and Authority, variously modified of course, as in the family relation, as occasion demands, to meet instances of insubordination, folly, or excess; the indiscretions of the paternal authority on the other hand being corrected or restrained as in the family by the fear of or respect for the sentiments of the neighbouring Powers.

Thus much for the general way in which we are to approach the facts that confront us in Practical Politics, following the guidance of the Chart. But before we pass on to consider their more detailed application to the general political outlook of England, France, and America respectively, it were well perhaps that we should realize how large is the realm of human affairs which is beyond either human insight or control, and which must be for ever left in the hands of Providence or Fate. Or say rather of Providence; for if Civilization has followed a definite line or track to the production of which all sides of human activity have been made to contribute—now brute force, now militarism, now asceticism, now dogma, now ecclesiasticism, now politics, and so on—and if, like an ascending terrace, the path of Civilization has advanced step by step in morality, gradually leaving its lower steps in brute Force, and ascending nearer and nearer to the Ideal; if, in a word, Civilization is a definite and ordered movement made up of the interaction of the human mind on the one hand, with the chances thrown in its way by Fate and Fortune on the other; and if further, the human spirit, place it where you will, follows a regular course and order of development; it is evident, is it not, that just as if the definite number eight, say, is the product of the definite number four multiplied by something else, that

something else must also be a definite number, namely two; so if the Evolution of Civilization is a definite and not an erratic or chaotic movement, and if the evolution of the human spirit is also definite and not erratic and chaotic, the other factor, namely Fate, which unites with the human mind in the production of this orderly movement of civilization must be definite also and not erratic or chaotic, that is to say, it must be a Providence and not a blind Fate. This, however, by the way. But if we ask what are the Political Problems whose solution lies beyond the reach of human ken, and which must be entrusted for their remote future effects to Providence or Fate, we may say that they include nearly all questions of a complex International character, and those where the future of the conditions on which they depend can neither be foreseen nor forestalled from the limited outlook of the Present. Of the former category are all those questions of Foreign Policy in which the effects of actions have to be traced in their remoter bearings and consequences,—not where the problem is confined and can be strictly isolated, but where several Powers with different interests and outlooks have to play their respective parts. Then it becomes like the problem of three gravitating bodies in mathematics (which although following lines doubtless as definite as those of the simplest attraction, cannot be reduced to human calculation), and must like death, individual fortune, and the chances and caprices of Nature be left to the dominion of Providence or Fate alone. Who, for example, can tell the effect on the world of a hundred years hence either of America's entering the field of Foreign Politics or refraining from entering it; or of the partition of China among the Western nations; or of an alliance of the Western nations with Japan; or of a union of the yellow races against the white, and so on? It was Bismarck who, with his usual candour, confessed that of the hundreds and thousands of orders which he was compelled to issue and decisions which he was obliged to make year by year, orders and decisions affecting often vast interests and nations,

he rarely had any feeling of certainty as to the result, but could only act boldly, and hope that things would turn out as he surmised or wished. There are, of course, numberless mere *opinions* on all these questions, varying in weight according to the general or special knowledge of the writer or speaker or administrator; but compared with the scientific certainty we have on other matters, the best of these opinions is but as a buzzing in the ears. And although on some one or other, men are obliged to act, they are not to be taken seriously when they attempt to dogmatise; for in their ultimate issues these questions lie beyond the reach of human experience. It is the same even with many of those questions which are believed to be reducible to a kind of moral, if not mathematical, certainty. Such, for example, is the great problem of Free-trade or Protection; and what is known as the Population Question. These questions, together with many other so-called demonstrations of the older school of Political Economists, I have had hanging on the outskirts of the mind, as it were, for the last quarter of a century; I have read the arguments for and against them, have given them up in despair of coming to a conclusion on them, and have returned to them again from various points of view, and especially when any new light seemed likely to be thrown on them either by the appearance of new writers in the field or by the accumulation of fresh facts and statistics; but except the conviction of their truth as abstract propositions strictly limited to fixed or ideal conditions, all arguments urging the application of either Free-Trade or restraints on Population to any *particular* country or society on the ground of its mere abstract truth, have been to me but a jingle of words; and with every show of logical demonstration nothing to my mind has been proved in the strict sense of that term, nothing that could furnish one with a belief on which one could walk with confidence and security. When we reflect that the ultimate prosperity of a country is the product of its soil, climate, mineral wealth, and natural advantages, multiplied by the

energy, invention, and character of its people, and that in the result the breed of men is as important as their material prosperity; when we reflect that with *absolute* Free-Trade all round, populations with the finest natural character and talents might by the mere chance of the nature of the country in which they happened to live, be condemned to modes of life that would in a few generations deflect their genius from its true aims and reduce it to sterility—as one can imagine the Ancient Greeks, for example, if chance had thrown them inland and condemned them to the life of peasants merely; or again, the peoples of countries where the manufacturing advantages were so great that the inhabitants would be condemned to live in factories or barracks and under a régime of labour so infinitely divided as to make mere machines of men, to the destruction of all individuality and liberality of culture—when we reflect on the contrast between the enslaved inhabitants of the Tropics with all the riches of Nature dropping into their mouths, and the rugged old Scotchmen bred on their bleak and barren hills, who by their character, energy, and ability, control the commerce, the industry, the intellectual and moral education of half the English-speaking world; when we reflect on all this, and see to what an extent the Unknown must enter into it all, we feel that we must relegate the question of the application of Free-Trade or Protection to any given country or set of conditions, to the test of Experience alone,—as being insoluble beforehand, and its results as unpredicable and as little to be foreseen as the political complications of States. It is the same too with the Population Question. The Law, that population if left to itself, increases in a geometrical, while the food supply only increases in an arithmetical ratio, is perhaps a true law in the abstract or under conditions that are simple and relatively stable; but who can tell in any given country when it is necessary to apply artificial checks to population, or whether, indeed, it will ever be necessary to do so? Who is to forestall the future of invention and discovery, or restrict the resources of Nature to what they

appear from our standpoint of to-day? And if not, who knows whether it will ever be necessary to restrict, by human devices, population anywhere on the globe? No one can tell, all is yet in the womb of Time and must be left to Providence or Fate, as being unforeseeable by man. All this is by way of showing that we cannot altogether take the government of the world into our own hands, however clever we may be, but must always leave room for Destiny, for the Unexpected, the Providential. Indeed were there nothing more, the fact that the generations of men die and leave their uncompleted tasks to others, to be continued, or altered, or abandoned, or destroyed, by the caprice or judgment of succeeding generations, would in itself seem to necessitate a controlling Power over all, to give it direction, continuity, and completion. But if Providence or Destiny intervenes at every turn, and much of that on which we must form a judgment and act one way or another cannot be known or foreseen, why attempt to solve these problems, it may be asked, and why attempt to form a careful, well-considered estimate or judgment at all? To which one can only reply that just as the free will of man (in which the doing or not doing of things is left to himself), is as much a part of the order of Nature as the blind precipitancy of the brutes, and has co-operated as much in its orderly evolution; so too is human judgment or reason part of that order, and to it is given over so much of the work of the world as can be assigned to it; and without circumscribing the domain of Providence it may be safely said that however the cards may be distributed, to the best player in the long run will the future belong.

CHAPTER IX.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

IN the preceding chapters I have brought together, so far as possible, what has occurred to me of a general nature bearing on the question with which we started out, the question namely as to how far, if at all, the history of the Evolution of Civilization in general can help to throw light on the special political and social problems that confront the world to-day; and now, with the reader's indulgence, I propose to ask him to accompany me still a little farther while I attempt to clear up some miscellaneous matters proper to our subject, and which it is necessary to consider before proceeding to apply our principles in more or less detail to the special circumstances and conditions of England, France, and America, respectively. But before doing this it is essential to recapitulate the regions in which no help can come to us from a knowledge of the Past. These, as we saw in the last chapter, are questions which depend on the presence of unknown factors which, like the particular cards in the hands of an opponent, make the result impossible to foresee, or of factors still hidden in the womb of time and equally beyond human insight or control, as for example intricate questions of Foreign Policy in which several States are interested, and where the upshot for any distance ahead is as impossible to calculate as the problem of three gravitating bodies in mathematics; questions whether Free-Trade or Protection were the best policy for particular States when regard is had to the

influence of occupation or mode of life on people of a peculiar race or genius; questions of Imperialism or Militarism where the results of single important battles may alter the entire destiny of nations and even of continents; questions of encouraging or discouraging population in any given country when regard is had to the far-reaching results of scientific discoveries on the food-supply of the world which may be forthcoming at any moment. All these, and many others for the present at least, belong to the domain of Providence or Fate, and in many cases are almost as likely to turn out in accordance with the forecast of the 'man in the street,' as with that of the most experienced statesman or the most diligent student of the history of institutions. If we take, for example the speeches of the leading English Statesmen of the century from Canning to Beaconsfield, and compare the forecasts of Foreign Policy contained in them with the actual results as seen from this distance of time, the contrast is often ludicrous. It is the same with the forebodings of the Malthusian School on the question of Population; the ravings of Protectionists in one country, the disappointment of Free-Traders in another; and the entire *volte face* in the course of a single generation of English Colonial Policy—and the like.

But if this class of political problem is insoluble beforehand either by the teachings of History or of Civilization, of speculative thought or of individual experience, and if we ask wherein a knowledge of the evolution of Civilization in general is likely to be of service to us in the actual policy of existing States, we may say with some confidence that it ought to free us from illusions in all that domain of domestic policy where Statesmanship consists in not mistaking political means for political ends, political abstractions for political realities, the political methods adapted to one generation for the methods adapted to the changed conditions of another, and so on; and thereby to save us from as fruitless an expenditure of labour as the sinking of shafts in sand-heaps in the hope of drawing water, and from

dangers often as great as would attend the picking up of a cobra in the dark in mistake for a rope—to use a favourite metaphor of the Hindoo Philosophers. It was to mistakes of this kind, as we have already seen, that many of the errors in Nineteenth Century Statesmanship were due—errors which it will be the mission of the Twentieth Century, without becoming retrograde, to reverse or retrieve. But as these and all the other questionable movements of the Century may be grouped around the peculiar form of the Democracy from which they took their rise, it may be as well perhaps to seize the opportunity thus offered us before proceeding further, of coming to some conclusion on the question of Democracy in general, and of the part it is likely to play in the Politics of the Future.

Now this introduces us at once to a distinction which lies on the very threshold of our subject, and which is so important, and when neglected has been the cause of so much confusion withal, that it must be got out of the way before we can proceed farther;—the distinction, namely, between Democracy as an instrument of *Government*, and Democracy as an instrument, like Religion, of social regeneration and the furtherance of *Morality* in the broadest sense of that term. For it is evident that if the progress of morality and of social justice be the end of all political and social institutions; if it is in this progress of social morality that all progress in Civilization consists, all else being but means and temporary scaffolding to that end—if this be true, it is evident that however unsatisfactory Democracy may be in many ways as an instrument of Government, it will still have to be maintained if it is absolutely essential to the furtherance of that social morality by which, in the last resort, all forms of government must submit to be judged. The question then before us now is—whether Democracy is absolutely essential to the progress of Morality among the great masses of men. Will no other form of government answer as well for this purpose, and if not, why not? This requires some consideration, for Democracy being of but recent growth in the great States of

the World, and these States having already made great strides in social morality, why, it may be asked, should they absolutely require a Democracy for the further evolution of their social morality in the future? No form of government, it will be said, is an end in itself, all are but means; some are better adapted to one people and one stage of society, others to another; here despotism, there limited monarchy, and there, again, military rule. Nor is the same form of government equally adapted to the same society at different stages and periods of its development; a Democracy, for example, which would be best in peaceful times, being out of place in a purely warlike age,—and so on. Now this is all true, and there is no doubt that social morality would advance in the future as it has done in the Past whatever the form of government that this or that State might adopt. But it is only of the World in general that this can be said, not of any particular State. The World, we may be sure, will get its own, somewhere and somehow, but if a particular nation is to attain to its highest state of social progress, it must in the Twentieth Century at least, we think, be through democratic forms. And the reason we have to give for this statement is this, that as I endeavoured to show at length in my earlier work on 'Civilization and Progress,' there can be no advance in social morality,—that is to say in justice between class and class, in equal opportunities for persons of all classes, and in the elevation of the ideals of the nation as a whole,—until the effective powers of the different classes in the State are nearly *equalised;* and this can only be done in peaceful times by the franchise, that is to say by a government democratic in form. The reason we gave for morality not being able to advance until material and social conditions were more or less equalised was this, that when the powers of different classes are unequal, the relations of these classes to each other are regulated mainly by the law of Might, but when they become more nearly equal they are regulated by the law of Reason and of Right. Of course in countries like Russia where the Emperor

is so strongly entrenched in law and in public opinion that he may do what he chooses, he can hold the balance even, as it were, between the people and the nobility; and so by artificially equalising the powers, can partially secure an equality of rights to the great mass of the people relatively to the nobility their natural oppressors, even although all alike are subject to his sovereign will. But in no other European State is either King or Emperor so firmly seated that he can dare to intervene to alter and unsettle the relations existing between the different classes of his people; and so if the people anywhere are to achieve an equality of *rights* for themselves, they must get the necessary equality of *power* by their own efforts; and without a civil war this can be done only through the suffrage, that is to say through the form of a Democracy, or as in England, through a government which is monarchical only in name, but is, politically speaking, democratic in essence and spirit. And one may go farther and say that now that skilled wage-earners are everywhere ceasing to be the mere tools of the industrial world, working for wages which can be put up or down at the caprice of the employer; now that they are gradually coming to be recognised, though slowly, as co-partners in the world of industry, not to be bought or sold at a market rate like goods and chattels, but with a first lien on the product of all industrial enterprises whatsoever;—now that the process of emancipation of the Working-man has begun, Democracy must be the form of government in all modern States until his emancipation is consummated, whatever difficulties or dangers may attend it. But over and above all this, there is something in the inarticulate voice of vast multitudes, which is calculated, like the voice of the many-sounding sea, to awe the minds of the better class of statesmen and to steady them for great designs, deepening their sense of responsibility and fixing their minds on great moral issues; an impetus not to be had by any governments resting on a restricted range of class-interests, fancy franchises, or the like.

But however excellent Democracy may be in the present stage of society for its influence in advancing morality, social justice, and the amelioration of the great masses of men, it cannot be denied that it is a plant that requires peculiar conditions of soil and climate for its success, and that as an instrument of government it is cumbrous and unwieldy, and is accompanied by great drawbacks; not cutting the stormy waters of politics like the single sharp-prowed keel of despotic monarchies, but like a raft, made up of a vast multiplicity of separate logs rolling and tumbling along at the mercy of wind and tide. Among the causes, for example, of the downfal of the Roman Republic was the institution of Slavery which, working with other economical causes, led to the expropriation of the smaller landed proprietors, and the cultivation of large tracts of country by gangs of slaves; this again brought about the concentration of power in the hands of a few wealthy patricians, and led to the crowding of the expropriated proprietors into the city, where they soon became a hungry and dissolute mob, lending themselves to the quarrels of rival patricians, and willing for 'bread and the circus' to sell their allegiance to the first passing adventurer. The downfal of the old democracies of Greece, again, was due largely to their *smallness of size*, whereby the whole people could take part in every act of administration however delicate or important; thus laying themselves open to anarchy and corruption on all hands, and to the chance, nay to the certainty there is in all large public assemblies of being led away by envy, hatred, cupidity, vanity, jealousy, or revenge. Besides, the republics of both Greece and Rome were *warlike*, and liable in consequence to destruction by other Powers; War itself was a necessity inherent in the very age and circumstances of the world, when boundaries were uncertain, prescription had not attained the force of right, and successive hordes of barbarians kept swarming into the sunny lands from the surrounding darkness. And when one empire rose after another out of the chaos, and Rome at last conquered

the world, the necessity of keeping the peace among so many tributary and mutually hostile states, and of protecting the provinces from spoliation by her own rapacious patricians, of themselves necessitated the deposition of supreme power in one single despotic hand. It is the same too in modern times. Slavery, as all know, came near to wrecking the great American Republic in our own time. The fall of the first French Republic was due largely to the excessive *centralization* of the Government which had come down from the old despotic régime, and which, when war made concentration necessary, lent itself with the greatest ease to the ambitious designs of the military usurper. And the present French Republic is still unsteady, owing chiefly as we shall see further on, to the old relics of Feudalism, Catholicism, Militarism, and Caste, which still mingle with the strictly democratic elements of Science, Industry, and Peace.

All this will probably be readily admitted; but what I desire to specially emphasise here is, that the form of Democracy which came in with the French Revolution and the Factory System at the end of the Eighteenth Century, being an ideal abstraction, is as an instrument of Government unsuited in its entirety to any condition of society whatever, or at any rate to any nation or society which has, like a closed field, definite boundaries; and that it can flourish only in those conditions of life which Rousseau had in his mind when he framed it, namely in societies that have no boundaries, but where the inhabitants, like the Red Indians, have unbounded freedom, and can move on and on as civilization comes up to them and threatens to organize and absorb them. In a word, this abstract ideal Democracy, if we may so call it, with its Liberty and Equality, Laissez-faire, and Universal Suffrage, is as an instrument of Government unsuited to any condition of civilized society existing at the present time or likely to exist on this side of the millennium. As we have seen, it has by its abstract ideal principles shot like a comet quite beyond the proper orbit of existing civilization;

and the main problem for the Twentieth Century accordingly will be, how, while preserving the democratic form of government, to so rein it in, and coerce its eccentricities of orbit to the proper curve again, that it shall be not only a means of *morality* but an efficient instrument of *government* as well—in all those countries at least that by their history, tradition, and situation, are otherwise suited for it. And, accordingly, we expect that the watchword of the Twentieth Century in Politics will be Evolution not Revolution; while all its war-cries will be regarded as means, not as ends as they have been in the Nineteenth. For the Nineteenth Century conception of government as a matter of abstract rights, metaphysical rights of man as man, and the like, the Twentieth Century will substitute the conception of expediency, of prudence, of getting the best results for all out of existing conditions, of pushing the ideal only so far as it will go and no farther,—and all with an eye to further progress, to the elevation, comfort and happiness of the great masses of men. And instead of regarding society as a vast aggregate of separate individuals left to shift for themselves or to be moved about here and there mechanically like pieces on a chess-board, it will regard it as a family rather, with a natural growth, its members having natural relations to each other; and where the attempt to impose anything foreign on it, however right it may be from a legal or metaphysical point of view, will like the introduction of a step-mother into a family in private life, not always be found politically expedient or desirable. Progress and Reform, in consequence, will not proceed by pulling down the old structure, like the bricks of a child's toy house, and building it up again on a new and different plan from the foundation; but will imitate rather the process of tree-grafting, where the sap of the old still flows through the new; or of breeding, where the kind of offspring we wish to produce can only be got by slight variations in the proposed direction through a number of removes, and not by a single enforced

union of principles so opposite that nothing but an abortion or a monstrosity can result.

From these general maxims there will be found to emerge four rules of Practical Statesmanship which I propose to apply presently to the practical politics of England, France, and America, respectively. To begin with, we may say that just as the civilization of the world as a whole is made up of the contributions to the common stock, of its different peoples and nations, in the same way as its trade is made up of their respective industries; and as this common civilization gets what it has of completeness or harmony not from the fulness or completeness of any one nation but from the complementary contributions of them all; so nothing should be introduced into the politics of any one nation which would tend to blur or destroy the type of character which has been impressed on it by ages of tradition, custom, and the material and social conditions of its people; but on the contrary its deficiencies are to be made good by engrafting as much of its neighbour's or rival's excellencies on its own as it can vitally assimilate without destroying its individual type and character;—in the same way as the best qualities of the soldier and the preacher respectively are to be got not by turning the one into the other, but by the process of engrafting on the one as much of the excellence of the other as his character will take up without detriment to his own mental and moral individuality. Preservation of Type, accordingly, is the first rule to be observed in working out a constructive policy for nations and States.

If Civilization consisted merely in maintaining the *status quo* from age to age in a kind of Chinese stagnation without retrogression or advance, nothing more would be needed to preserve this type than to remorselessly cut off all new off-shoots or variations tending to cause a divergence, as they arose. But as on the contrary, Civilization while starting from the low plane of Brute Force moves gradually upwards and across to the side of the Ideal, always approximating but never reaching it; embodying

as it goes along only as much of this Ideal as at the given time and place it can take up; each nation or society it is evident, although its immediate aim must be the preservation of its own type in its integrity as it has come down to it, must also aim at gradually refining and softening or withdrawing from view its lower and purely brutal elements and replacing them with higher ones; getting rid as far as possible of the ape and tiger in its composition, and strengthening the human, the social, and the ideal. But as these two elements of Physical Force on the one hand and the Ideal of the Right, the Good, and the True on the other, have always been present at every point in the actual history of nations (the ideal elements being slowly and gradually but surely taken up and embodied as we get farther away from Primitive Man), it is evident that if the first rule of Practical Statesmanship is the preservation of the Type of a nation, our second rule must be to expunge from practical politics all merely Abstract Ideals like those which presided over the birth of the French Revolution, and to construct our reforms, not *de novo*, but out of the existing type, modes of life, traditions, and institutions in which the people in question have been brought up, in which they believe, and under which they have been accustomed to think and to act; imitating in this the method of Nature herself who when she wishes to secure a new and higher type of organism, does so by bringing the new, as it were, out from under the ribs of the old.

Our third rule for the politics of modern States is that they should be made to move all of a piece as it were; that there should be no gaps or exclusions anywhere; but that all castes, privileges, and barriers should be gradually broken down, so that the whole society from front to rear, in ranks shading into each other by insensible gradations, should move forward like an army, with nothing to impede its flexibility; while its units are freely movable from the rear to the van;—all careers alike being open to talent and virtue. For although, as we shall see farther on, the existence of hierarchy and degree in

society is as essential to a well-ordered State, as are liberty and equality of opportunity for all, the existence of exclusive castes, or of monopolies so gigantic that they are as inaccessible from the plain of common life as the feudal castles of the Middle Ages, is as fatal to the movement and progress of a society as a series of trenches stretching across a field to an army on the march.

This leads us to the fourth and last rule founded on the Evolution of Civilization in the Past, which we shall lay down for the Practical Statesmanship of the Present,—namely that the practical politics of all progressive reform movements in Modern States are to be directed towards *the material and social conditions* of these States, rather than towards the *character of the people* who inhabit them;—and for this reason, that if unfavourable material conditions are allowed to prevail for a sufficient length of time in any community, they will insensibly corrupt opinion, degrade sentiment, and lower the level of the high ideals of the community; in the same way as if highways are unguarded long enough they will breed robbery; houses unprotected, house-breaking; streets unpatrolled, ruffianism; appointments or contracts unexamined, corruption and dishonesty; and so on. So in the same way, if swift and radical industrial changes have taken place in the bosom of a society or State, this alteration in the material and social landscape of that State must be the chief concern of the Statesman, and not the character of the individuals or classes who have got hold of its vantage grounds. For just as every situation in life has its favoured places and positions and its less advantageous ones,—with no personal blame attaching to those who in the scramble happen to secure the best places;—so the Statesman must keep his eye primarily on these points of vantage which have arisen in his society, those commercial peaks on which sit the caste of millionaires, those broad acres which maintain the landlord caste, those hollows and plains where lie the disinherited, and so on; in a word, on the

characteristics of the material and social landscape, and not on the people themselves;—and for this reason mainly, that the existing character of a people living on a given area of the earth's surface is practically fixed, and cannot be altered except in a very inappreciable degree; while the peaks and rock-fortresses, the caves and underground dwellings which harbour the beings that prey or are preyed on (and which if allowed to exist will by the sentiments and morality they tend to engender, alter in time the entire character of a nation or a civilization) can be so raised, or levelled, or graded, by human art and statesmanship, as to be made the nursing places of heroes instead of brigands, the homes of virtue and honesty instead of misery and crime.

With these general rules of Practical Statesmanship drawn from the Evolution of Civilization to guide us; namely the preservation of the organic type of any given historic society or people; the reforming of that society and securing its progress not by abstract ideals imposed on it in full panoply from without as in the French Revolution, but by modification of its existing institutions in the direction of the ideal by gradual increments and stages; the keeping society all of a piece as it were, and without the deep gaps and trenches made in its ranks by caste, monopoly, and other causes, a free passage being secured everywhere and for all; and lastly the concentration of attention primarily on those material, social, and industrial conditions which keep open these rents and divisions, rather than on the people who profit or suffer by them:—with these rules of Practical Statesmanship to guide us we are now in a position to consider what are the changes which the history of the Evolution of Civilization demands to-day in the statesmanship of England, France, and America respectively, in order that the Practical Politics of these nations may be kept in harmony with that evolution.

To begin then with England, which as the predominant partner we may take as representative of the Statesmanship of

Great Britain as a whole. It will be remembered that in a former chapter we were at some pains to point out that the political and social evolution of England in the Nineteenth Century, when compared with that of France on the one hand and of America on the other, had been practically unaffected by the doctrines of the Rights of Man, and of Liberty and Equality which presided over the French Revolution and which were founded on the political philosophy of Rousseau; but that on the contrary the political agitation that ended in securing the franchise for the English working-man arose largely out of the Factory System and the tyranny exercised over the workmen by the new race of Capitalists which that system brought into being. We saw further that these doctrines had been used by the workmen mainly for the purpose of obtaining legislation that would enable them to make better terms with their masters, and of repealing those Labour Laws which had been the chief instruments in keeping them down. The democratic movement in England which issued in the franchise was founded not on any abstract political ideal but on a practical necessity, not on social but on industrial grounds; and in reaching out to the abstract political doctrines of the French Revolution for help in the contest with their masters, it was as to a foreign auxiliary that happened to be passing their way, rather than to a natural ally embarked with them in the same cause. And the consequence has been that whereas France completely changed the type of structure of her old historic society, and completely broke with her Past, beginning a new course of evolution on an entirely new basis and system; England has continued the evolution of her old historic type in all essentials unchanged. Not that the profound dislocations caused by the Factory System have not during the century been on the point over and over again of inaugurating changes which would have broken up the entire régime; what I wish to emphasise is that so far at least, they have passed over without appreciable effect in altering the old historic type. At one

time, indeed, the wave of democratic opinion initiated by the grievances of the workmen became so formidable through the resistance it met with and the alliance it made with the abstract doctrines of the Revolution, that it threatened to overturn the Monarchy itself and put a Republic in its place; again a continuance of the same wave threatened and still continues to threaten the House of Lords; while more recently the new utopia inaugurated by Henry George of taxing out the landlords while allowing the bondholders and other capitalists to escape on the ground of some fancied abstract justice, some abstract inherent right of every person born to the use of the soil—this utopia (the lineal descendant of the abstract ideals of Rousseau and the French Revolution), has also received a considerable measure of popular sympathy and support. All these are instances of where the peculiar abstract-ideal form of Democracy that came in with the French Revolution has shown its teeth, as it were, in England, but has not bitten; and the consequence is that the English type, political and social, has continued on its even course of evolution, in all essentials unchanged. A more serious danger,—and one that should it take hold would as completely destroy the organic life of England as the Revolution did that of France,—would be the success of the Socialist propaganda with its doctrine of Labour-time; but fortunately so far, the Marxian section can only count its recruits by tens for the thousands who support it in Germany; and before it can get sufficient votes to make it formidable, its bankrupt doctrine of Labour-time will probably have become exploded, and only what is good or harmless will remain, namely, its proposal that suitable monopolies should be taken over by the municipality or the State, and that all unearned increments caused by the growth and progress of the community and not by individual exertion, should be taxed, fair compensation being given to all the parties concerned;—all of which lies in the direct line of orderly evolution. So that in affirming that England has retained her original type of

political and social life practically unimpaired through all the political storms and crises of the Nineteenth Century, I only mean that the doctrines which she borrowed from the French Revolution to help her workmen in their struggles with their masters, although like passing thunder-clouds often threatening, so far at least have left the historic integrity of her type the same as before; the proof being that with a suffrage extended so as to embrace almost all classes of the people, the country still returns to Parliament its natural and hereditary leaders, the landlords in the counties, and the great merchants, manufacturers and capitalists in the cities and towns; whereas in France, since the Revolution, the nobility have been practically driven from the political field, while the great manufacturers and capitalists scarcely number one-tenth of the whole body of Deputies in the Chamber;—a Chamber, we may remark in passing, which is made up mainly of obscure men of little mark or circumstance from the country towns and villages of France. But as in England the political thunderstorms that have gathered and been often on the point of breaking throughout the course of the Nineteenth Century were caused by the efforts of Landlords and Capitalists combined in their self-interest and class-exclusiveness to keep the great body of the people from their reasonable chances of expansion and development, it would seem to follow that if the first essential of policy is the preservation of the historic type of a society, and the second the removal of all artificial barriers to distinction, the strategy of English Statesmen (for some part at least of the Twentieth Century), must have two objects, first the preservation of the order and hierarchy of the political and social mechanism in accordance with history and tradition, and secondly the removing of all barriers, so that a free passage may be open to all from the lowest to the highest positions in the State. To abolish, in a word, the gaps between the bottom and the top of society by a well graduated ladder along which all can ascend and which shall interpose no obstacle to genius,

character, and virtue, while preserving the distinction and gradation that have characterised the history of the country —this in my judgment is in general terms the nature of the task which is marked out for English Statemanship in the Twentieth Century, at once by its historic evolution and by the march of Civilization in general. Not necessarily the same hierarchy of position and class; on the contrary these will constantly have to be modified by the necessities of advancing civilization; but still *a* hierarchy, and one that is capable of affiliating with the old without causing a breach of continuity or sacrificing the hereditary allegiance of the great body of the people. How this is to be done will form the subject of the next chapter.

PART II.

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

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CHAP. I. ENGLAND—THE PROBLEM.

„ II. ENGLAND—RECONSTRUCTION.

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CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND—THE PROBLEM.

IN the last chapter the reader may have observed with some surprise that I laid great stress on what I called the political and social Hierarchy of a nation or society as a factor in its fortunes, that I regarded it as of as much importance almost as the extent to which that nation or society was pervaded with the ideas of Equality and Liberty; and I can imagine him exclaiming that while the *political* hierarchy of a nation may be of very serious practical importance, its *social* hierarchy is a frivolous matter quite beneath the serious concern of the Practical Politician or Statesman. And therefore I may as well say at the outset, that on the contrary I regard the social hierarchy which any people has established for itself and which it loyally accepts, whether on grounds religious, personal, or political, as the very soul and life of that people. It is its ideal, its motor, its inspirer; that which gives life, connection, and continuity to the aims and efforts of its individual units; and just as you know the real life and soul of a man when you know the ideals he honours and pursues, so too is it with a nation or with society at large;—the mere political machinery of a nation, like the mechanism of a man's body, being but a better or worse instrument for helping it to realise these ideals. Of course if the persons who work the political machinery of a country are of a different class to

those who represent its social ideals, as has been largely the case in France since the Revolution and is now in some of the English Colonies and in America, it is evident that while good political ideals will help to neutralise the effects of bad social ones, and *vice versâ*, the confusion caused by the interplay and antagonism of the two will make the part played by each obscure and difficult to follow. But it is not so in a country like England where political and social ideals are still united in a kind of wedlock; there the influence of a solidly compact, united, and recognised social hierarchy on the national life can be seen with the greatest ease, and traced without difficulty or confusion. And hence it is that in the account I am about to give of the policy which seems to me to be demanded for the Twentieth Century by the Evolution of Civilization, I prefer to begin with England.

The first point I would remark is that the social hierarchy which prevails in England and which is still loyally accepted by the great body of the people, although partaking largely of the nature of a caste, has never been as it was in the other great European States before the French Revolution, a closed one; the intervals between the different stages and platforms of its ascent have never been absolute and impassable from below, as was the case with these other countries, but have always been freely open at certain points. Except the Monarchy, which is restricted to the members of the reigning family, there is nowhere any absolute barrier to prevent men born in any one class or condition of life from rising to any other. The Nobility is recruited from the Professions and from the great Merchants and Manufacturers; the House of Lords from the House of Commons; the Ministers of State from the ordinary Members of Parliament; while the highest positions in the Church, the Army, the Law, and the Civil Service, are all open to men born in any and every rank or condition of life. And we may go farther and say that it is this absence of any absolute barrier between different conditions and classes that

has been largely instrumental in making England of all the countries in the Old World the one where a Government resting on a democratic basis is the most stable and secure, and where personal liberty is most assured. But at the same time we have to remark on the other side of the question, that while this absence of any *absolute* barrier between one condition of life and another, between one class of society and another, has done so much for the political stability of England and the personal liberty of Englishmen during the ages connecting Feudalism with Modern Times; the practical difficulties in the way of surmounting these barriers between class and class are so great that they will be found in the end among the chief dangers with which England has to deal in the Industrial Stage of Society on which she, together with all advanced nations, has now fully entered. And if we are asked, again, how this will come about, our reply will be that the effect on Society of a system of Caste between whose grades there is an open but not a free passage, like a river which can be forded only at certain far distant points and not all along the stream;—the effect of this is to withdraw the imaginative ideal, the admiration, and the efforts of the nation from those *intellectual* energies which this Industrial Age of the world demands in every department of life, and to throw them on considerations of mere status, rank, and position, and on the sentiments and manners proper to them. But to see how this acts, a few illustrative instances may not be altogether out of place.

To begin with we may observe that where Caste is absolute, as in the East, and the barriers that separate class from class are insurmountable, mere rank is everything, and practical intellect, initiative, originality, and enterprise being alike unavailing to help a man out of the sphere in which he was born, are held in a minimum of regard. The consequence is that these nations have long sunk into a settled and abiding intellectual stagnation. It was the same too in Europe before the French Revolution for the great masses of men; and

nowhere more so than in France herself, where the twenty odd millions of peasants and workers hopelessly excluded from all chance of advancement in Church, State, or Society, led the lives almost of beasts, without intellectual interest, aspiration, or hope. But when once the barriers of Caste were thrown down by the Revolution, and Napoleon openly announced that from henceforth careers should be open to talent, so that men could pass freely from the lowest to the highest positions in Society and the State, the same men who a decade before would scarcely have dared to lift their half-embruted fronts to the light, were fired by the consciousness that they carried each a possible marshal's baton in his knapsack; and it was not long before the sons of wine-sellers, peasants, and shoemakers, caught up as in a gale in the fierce rush and whirlwind of promotion, rose to be princes of the Empire, great captains in war, and leaders of men. That is to say that where class barriers are thrown down, and all gates and avenues are freely open to merit, it is the strongest, the most alert, the most practically intellectual minds that get to the top, that secure the best places, and that win the highest prizes in every department of life.

Now in England, although, as we have said, there is always a passage open *somewhere* from the lowest to the highest grades in the hierarchy of society (and it is this that like a safety valve has been the cause of the nation's political stability), still the number of vacancies in each grade that cannot be supplied from within that grade but have to be recruited from the ranks below, is so small, and the special qualifications and equipments needed are within the compass of so few, that the great masses of men are practically excluded from the competition, and are therefore as untouched in their imaginations and in their ideals by the fact that the way is open, as if it were rigidly shut;—and so are inclined to survey the ranks and platforms above them with as little hope of reaching them, as of reaching the Throne itself. For when we ask what these

qualifications specially are, we shall find that they are all of the nature of Monopolies, and so cannot be reached either by the will, the energy, or the industry of the great mass of mankind. For you must practically have either Birth, which is a monopoly of family, and so beyond the human will; or vast Wealth, which always involves a monopoly of the most favoured positions for doing business, or of sites and natural agents for special manufactures, or of soils for special productions, and so on,—none of which can be indefinitely increased, but which on the contrary as society becomes more highly organized, tend to fall into fewer and fewer hands;—or lastly certain forms of Genius, which is a gift of the gods, the monopoly of the few, and cannot be increased by industry, by study, by personal exertion, or by power of will. And what is the consequence? This, that while the doors are open to these favoured few, they are closed to the great bulk of men; and the qualifications required not being within the reach of the human will, Intellect as such, both in general and particular, with its concomitants of energy, initiative, originality, flexibility, invention, and so on, all of which look to the will for stimulus;—this Intellect, I say, which becomes the aim, and in consequence the ideal of men when all doors are open to energy and talent, ceases to be so when, as in a country like England, these doors are for the great masses of men practically shut;—and what a drag this will be to any country in the Industrial Stage on which all the great nations of the world have now entered, it requires but little reflection to foresee. But to avoid misunderstanding let me hasten to say at once, that when I affirm that in England Intellect as such with its concomitants of energy, rapidity, flexibility, initiative, and originality, is not an ideal, I am not to be understood as meaning that there is not an abundance of Intelligence in the country. On the contrary, just as wherever there are feet to be shod, shoemakers will be found, better or worse, so in a country like England where affairs of all kinds, and on a larger and more complex scale than almost anywhere

else, have to be handled, the amount of actual intelligence necessary to cope with this vast miscellany of interests is also greater than almost anywhere else. Machinery larger in amount and more complex in design; Engineering works of greater difficulty and requiring larger capital; ship-building for a larger and more varied ocean commerce; legal cases of more difficulty arising out of all this complexity; a greater variety of disease and accident to be attended to in the hospitals; a greater range and variety of books on all conceivable topics to be estimated and reviewed; newspaper work wide and varied beyond all previous parallel; learning extensive enough to keep pace with the demands of Universities devoted alike to ancient and modern science and thought; political knowledge commensurate with the intricacies of Foreign Politics, with the vast extent of Colonial Empire, and with the wide diversity of races over which she has to rule;—the intelligence required for all this has to be supplied, and is bought and paid for as the shoemaker is for his shoes.

And what more would you desire or expect, it may be asked? To answer this I may be permitted perhaps to return to what I said at the outset, namely that Intellect as such, even in its highest and most important ranges, is not the ideal, not the admiration of the nation,—and what that means we have now to see. It means that as it is not an end in itself but a means merely to some other end,—whether money, or position, or fame, or influence;—its cultivation and exercise stop with the thing on which it is working; like bread baked only in quantity sufficient for the day that is passing, it does not by its exuberance and spontaneity overflow so as to embrace the morrow as well. Being valued not for itself but for its immediate usefulness, any superflux beyond the requirements of the moment becomes an excess, and does not count. Like a hobby indulged in for its own sake, it confers no additional status on the person possessing it; and a shoemaker might

carry the Principia of Newton or the wisdom of Bacon in his single head yet would remain to the public and his neighbours a shoemaker still,—and would be treated as such. The consequence of all this is that there is no stimulus to intellect to overflow beyond the immediate horizon of to-day, or the immediate necessities of the hour;—and this means that there is no motive or incentive to energy, invention, or originality, to fresh outlooks and designs, but an excuse rather for dull repetition and the reposing in the old methods and routine. And although the average of ordinary talent on the one hand, and of genius that owes nothing to place or environment on the other, is as great in England as in any country in the world, there is, compared with the immense physical and material resources of the country and its vast wealth, a greater dearth of initiative, originality, invention, and far-seeing penetration in every department of life and work than perhaps in any other country.

Not being an ideal, these things are not in fashion; they are not a social asset to be produced as a set-off against other deficiencies or drawbacks; and so throughout the wide range of society men feel it a greater compliment to be known as a first class sportsman—a good shot, golfer, cricketer, runner, footballer, rider—than as a first class thinker or a man of all round culture. Nowhere, perhaps, in the world in a nation so advanced, is interest in any new intellectual production for its own sake, whether in thought, literature, politics, art, industry, or political economy, more cold and dead. And the consequence is that for fresh and original ideas, inventions, methods; for first hand insight, and for designs reaching out to to-morrow but not pressingly wanted to-day,—in a word for the kind of Intelligence and Ideas that are to guide and fashion the future, England has to go elsewhere, to countries where Intellect as such is an ideal and is loved, honoured, and prized for itself alone. It has sometimes been said that the comparative indifference of the English to the criticisms of other nations is due to their

pride, their self-sufficiency, or their stoicism; and the explanation is regarded with a certain amount of quiet complacency by the English themselves as being a compliment rather than otherwise. But I do not think the real reason for their indifference to foreign criticism is quite so complimentary to them. They are not interested in the criticisms of other nations, not because of their pride or their self-complacency, their conceit or their stoical indifference. Their indifference is really due to the languid interest they take in anything of the nature of purely intellectual efficiency, in any original conception or plan, for itself alone, and which is not of immediately practical application to some material necessity of the day and the hour. Their real indifference to the opinion of other nations is in the realm of what, as we shall now see, they have made their own ideal, namely in all matters of character, sentiment, or manners;—and there we may admit that their complacency and sense of superiority to the rest of mankind are superb!

But if England is so indifferent on all matters intellectual, how then it will naturally be asked is she able to cut so great a figure in the world intellectually as well as otherwise? In the same way as the vulgar rich often make so great a show with their country houses, their art treasures, their libraries, their rare copies of old books and manuscripts,—namely by buying them! Being a rich country, whatever she wants that is new and original she can import from abroad. Having her own peculiar ideal to maintain at all costs (and what that is we shall see presently) it pays her better to buy her intellect, penetration, originality, invention, and so on, when she wants them and where she wants them, than to breed them; to import them as she does her wines rather than to grow them. And the consequence is that, as we see, Germany and France and other Continental nations supply her with nearly all the new departures that have to be made in Science and Philosophy; in Medicine, in Scholarship and the Higher Criticism; in the art of War; in new Chemical and Industrial processes; and in

enlargements of the scope of Music and of Art. From America again she imports new mechanical processes and inventions, new methods of industrial organization, and new applications of the mechanical arts to the comforts and conveniences of life, and so on. All these new things England imports and pays for at market price and in solid cash, just when and where she wants them; and once having got them, with her unrivalled capacity for producing and multiplying them,—whether by her wealth and capital, her mineral products, or her facilities for transit,—she is able to hold her own in supplying the world with the finished article, whatever it may be. But if you would know whether the Practical Intellect involved in all this is an ideal with her; if you would know what she thinks of the men who produce it all, you must look not at whether she is 'good pay' or not, but at whom she delights to honour. And judged by this which is the only true test of a nation's ideals as it is of an individual's, what do we find? If we take, to begin with, the inventors of those implements of war with which the very existence of nations is palpably bound up, or the discoverers of those processes of industry which are as plainly the source of a nation's material well-being—what do we see? That the inventor of the gun, for example, without which the Soudan could not have been conquered, gets little public recognition for his invention over and above the proceeds from the sale of his article, any more than if he were the mere army contractor who supplies the forces with shoes; while the General, on the other hand, whose strategical combinations would as little have kept back the enemy as a broom the sea, but for these guns—the product of another man's brains—is rewarded over and above his customary pay with a large grant of public money and with the distinction of a peerage. Or take again the inventor of the rifle which is now used by the British Army. A Canadian, born and brought up in the same little village in the backwoods as myself—I remember well his sitting in London reduced almost to beggary during the weary years of waiting that

elapsed between the recognition of his invention by the Government and its final acceptance by them. Now, had he and Mr. Maxim laid their heads together and manufactured and sold their respective weapons to what peoples soever they chose (a thing that they had a perfect right to do and could not be prevented from doing) they could almost have arrested the advance of the British Empire. And yet this latter gentleman sits now in his old age in the town where he spent his boyhood, and although respected universally for his private integrity, is as little honoured by any mark of Government recognition as if he were a retired fish-salesman. Even the mere manufacturers of these rifles, provided they sold enough of them and spent the money in helping the Government at an election, could look forward to baronetcies with almost entire assurance. Or again, if we take the discoverer of the process that has revolutionised the steel industry throughout the world, we shall find that beyond the money value of his invention, he received little recognition until late in life, and even then only such poor honour as that to which every prosperous tradesman who sells his wares over a counter may legitimately aspire; while brewers and distillers, provided only that they sell *sufficient* beer and whiskey, are rewarded with peerages and seats in the House of Lords!

Or to take again an instance of a more purely intellectual kind. While the country is taxed to the extent of one hundred millions sterling to put down the Boers, and pays it willingly and cheerfully, Mr. Herbert Spencer, who sat for years in poverty elaborating that great system of Philosophy which has made this and all the succeeding ages his debtors, would have been stopped midway in his great enterprise had it not been for the liberality of private friends, many of them Americans, who furnished the means to enable him to continue it; while as for the endowment of Scientific Research, on which the future of all industries whatever waits and depends, there is not in England alone in Europe (with a single insignificant

exception), a penny in the Treasury for any such purpose;—not if all the Faradays, the Davys, the Darwins, the Kelvins, the Marconis of the world were blocked and reduced to impotence for the want of it. It is, I admit, a partial set-off against all this, and I think in justice ought to be mentioned in passing, that the English common-sense on all matters in hand which is partly the result of paying so little regard to merely abstract theories (itself in turn a consequence of paying so little regard to Intellect as such) cannot be over estimated; and when combined with the moral directness of the people at large is one of the causes among others of the great political stability of the nation in the midst of peoples torn by faction and distracted by political utopias. But it may be objected that as the successful Generals fare so well at the hands of the country, the Science and Art of War at least—of strategy, tactics, and the rest—must be highly esteemed. But it is not so. On the contrary, in spite of their vast practical importance, there is as little steady interest in these things as in all else intellectual, as is manifest from the fact that the higher grades of officers on whom the responsibility must fall, are recruited from 'crack' regiments officered by men of birth rather than from the serious students of the art of War. At the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, the students go through much the same training as the private soldier, digging, and riding, and shooting, and drilling, all excellent of course; but should any of them elect to devote the greater part of their time to studying the battles and the strategy of the great Captains of the world to the detriment of their football or riding exercises, they would be voted 'muffs' or 'smugs.' How little, indeed, the people in general care for any new thing even in the Art of War may be seen in this, that at a time when we are told on the highest authority that for present day warfare swords and lances and pistols may be thrown into the dust-heap for any use they are against the Lee-Metford and the Maxim; at a time when the slain have often never come even within sight of the enemy,

one still reads letters to the Press from old officers deprecating the new Scientific Strategy as a foreign innovation, and still imagining that it is enough for the officer to lead his men up to the enemy and charge home with the bayonet! It is the same everywhere. At the Universities and Public Schools, although knowledge of all kinds is kept in stock and can be supplied if wanted, the ideal of the majority of the students is Sport; so much so indeed that to be a good cricketer is often a passport to educational appointments. Men go to these Universities and Public Schools, especially the older foundations, not so much for intellectual reasons as to acquire the sentiments, tone, and standing of 'gentlemen.'

But what do I propose to deduce from all this, the reader may ask? To which I answer, that with this deadness of appreciation of all that bears the name of Intellect proper, this absence of encouragement to all great designs which are not of immediate practical use in the day that is passing, England, like a rich landowner, so long as the coal and iron fields on which her wealth is based hold out, can afford to purchase or import all that is necessary for her use without doing honour to those whose brains she is thus exploiting (for what after all is the miserable pittance of some few thousand pounds paid for the Lee or the Maxim gun but a public theft when compared with the uses that have been got out of them?); but once let the coal and iron supply of the country fail, and other nations through the honour and encouragement given to invention, ingenuity, originality, and energy, be able to bring their manufactures to market more cheaply, then will this ignoring of the inventor and brain-worker begin to tell on the fortunes of the nation. Even now decline is observable at those points where sudden emergencies call for initiative, energy, and originality, and where action must be taken before the nation has had time to import what it needs;—as for example in the sudden outbreak of a war before the latest improvements in strategy

and tactics rendered necessary by the new weapons have reached her from Germany or elsewhere, or when she is called on to undertake some great engineering or industrial enterprise before she has had time to import the latest inventions, processes, or methods of organization from America or abroad. In all these instances, which depend on a far-sightedness and penetration which provide for the future as well as for the present, England who ignores all intellectual talent that is not immediately concerned with the wants, mainly material, of the day that is passing over her, must yield when confronted by nations where the raw material is as rich and where the encouragement given to invention and organization must ere-long furnish means of transport as cheap as those with which Nature has endowed her.

This peculiar deficiency in the appreciation of Intellect as such, which is rooted, as we shall see, in the very fibre of English life, is the first great factor which we have to emphasise in any attempt to map out a general scheme of policy for England in the Twentieth Century,—a policy which shall be founded at once on her own history and tradition and on the demands of Civilization in general. But let me hasten to say that England has a second side on which she is as great and pre-eminent as on the first she is deficient, a side equally important, equally rooted in her history and tradition, and so necessary to Civilization and the world, that it must be jealously guarded from injury or stain in any scheme constructed with a view to remedying her deficiencies. It is this side of her life which is England's natural ideal, and it is because the intellectual ideal would, were it too violently embraced, like the cuckoo, thrust this out, that the deficiency in this matter of the appreciation of Intellect as such, has never been remedied, and that so far it has paid her better, if we may say so, to import her intellect than to tear up her own historical roots for the purpose of growing it. For it is an ideal based on centuries of tradition, coming down from the Middle Ages, an ideal bred of War and Chivalry purified

and refined, but one which is quite incapable of uniting, except by slow and gradual intermediate changes, with the Industrial Ideal of the present time,—especially in a country which has been practically untouched by the Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, and other social war-cries of the French Revolution. And indeed when one considers what this ideal is, one is obliged to admit that it is worthy of all the homage which is paid it. It is the ideal of Character as such, as distinct from Intellect as such,—the ideal of justice, fair-play, straight-forwardness, simplicity, truthfulness, courage, with the absence of all excess, loudness, or boastfulness, and resulting in that happy compound of dignity and truthfulness with well-bred courtesy and politeness which we associate with the idea of the 'gentleman,'—a combination which although a little cold at first and wanting in charm, wears longest and best in the continuous intercourse between man and man. With its quiet tone and its absence of all heat, exaggeration, or superlative, it was the admiration of Emerson; and has been bred in the race by centuries of culture and tradition, with the Aristocracy as its high priests and representatives. It has been carried to its highest point perhaps by the English people, and is so important for the world that it must not be tarnished or sullied. It is the one sole undivided ideal of the nation as a whole,—the common admiration and pride alike of the professional man, the shopkeeper, the working-man, the man in the street, down to the costermonger; and to keep its flame pure and sacred, the nation is prepared to take the risks of treating all things else, intellect included, as mere commodities which can be bought and paid for as they are wanted. So far I have been treating of the English Ideal in its purest form, but this flower and Ideal of high character, courtesy, and manhood, has a lower side which is by no means so admirable, although that side too is almost as universally accepted by the nation as the other. This is its apotheosis of 'Sport,' which it gets too from the Aristocracy, out of whose habits and manner of life this love grows as a

natural product. In all its forms, Sport may be said to be an ideal of the English people. It is their substitute for interest in intellectual things; indeed there is scarcely a position in life in which the knowledge that a man is a sportsman will not, as we have said, be a help to him, other things being equal, whether in Parliament, the Public Service, the Professions, the Universities, or the Public Schools. This ideal, natural to the schoolboy and the barbarian, and excellent in keeping up the physique of the race, could only be carried to the extent it is in England, in a country where there is a large idle class at the head of Society universally accepted and recognized by the people at large, and able in consequence to impose its own tastes and predilections as ideals on the rest of the nation.

To sum up then we may say that the two great and cardinal facts on which the Policy of England must turn in the Twentieth Century, and in reference to which its politics in detail must be worked out, are, first on the positive side, that ideal or type of Character which the nation has set before itself, which has come down to it from history and tradition, which is inwoven in the very fibre of its being, and which must be preserved at all costs; and secondly on the negative side, that lack of appreciation of Intellect proper and of all those mental energies bound up with it on which in an Industrial Age of the world the progress if not the very existence of modern nations must more or less depend,—a lack of appreciation which must be reversed, and by methods, as we have said, which shall not endanger the first or positive Ideal. This is the task which English Statesmanship has before it, and before attempting a preliminary sketch of how this is to be accomplished from the point of view of Civilization in general and of the historical evolution of England in particular, it will be as well perhaps, if we are to carry the reader fully with us, to point out those historical grounds which must of themselves necessitate that national Ideal, as well as that lack of interest in things Intellectual of which we have been speaking. And for this

purpose nothing perhaps could be more illuminating and convincing than a comparison in this respect of the history of England with that of Scotland, where Intellect as such is admitted to be held in so high an admiration and esteem.

In England, the lords of the soil have from time immemorial been not only the masters but the natural leaders of the whole population lying below them in the social scale, alike in country and in town. Owning as they have always done the land under which the vast mineral wealth of the country is found, as well as that on which the cities, towns, and villages, are built, all classes and conditions of the population have been and still are to a greater or less extent dependent on them in the relationship of tenant to landlord; and although owing to long leases, sub-letting, and the growth in the great cities of populations who have never come into immediate relations with them, their power has only been indirectly felt in many places, still no class of the people has been permitted altogether to get out of touch with them, or out of range of their influence;—if not materially then politically, if not politically then socially. And this leadership of the people by their landlords has been further strengthened and confirmed by the support of the Church which has always placed its widely extended influence at the landlords' service; and it is only among Nonconformists that the devotion of large classes of the people to the land-owning class has been impaired. The consequence is that the landowners have for many ages been, as I have said, the natural leaders of the people both in peace and war, while their pursuits, qualities, excellences, and in some cases even their defects, have become the people's admiration and ideal. And as it does not primarily require any vast amount of genius to be merely the owners and administrators of estates, however extensive they may be, Intelligence as such is not and has never been one of their striking characteristics, and in consequence has never been erected into an ideal by the people at large.

And now observe the difference in Scotland. From the time of the Reformation and the union of the Crowns, when political and religious differences and disputes more and more divorced the people in interest and sympathy from the Nobility, the Ministers of the Kirk interposed themselves in every parish between the Landlords on the one hand and the People on the other; and to them in consequence the People have always looked up for direction and guidance in all their affairs. And as in the theocratic system of Calvinism nearly all sins were crimes also against the State,—or if not against the State then against the parish over which the Kirk Minister ruled,—it followed that the jurisdiction of these ministers like that of the Jewish Rabbis and Priests, ran into the minutest actions of every-day life; and thus not only did they themselves become the ideal and admiration of the people but their pursuits as well; in the same way as it had been with the landlord class in England. And as to keep its skirts free from the impious contact of Romanism on the one hand, and of Anglicanism and Congregationalism on the other, the Calvinistic theology on which salvation depended had to steer its course with a dialectical subtlety that taxed the intellectual ingenuity of the ablest divines; and as the pursuits of the ministers therefore were mainly the discussion of knotty points in speculation and theology, bearing on belief and action; the consequence was that the whole nation like a conservatory for the raising of rare and exotic plants, became a forcing ground set apart for the cultivation of intellectual subtlety, reflection and speculation of all kinds;—the landlords meantime, beyond the receipt of the rents that accrued to them, exercising little or no influence on the conduct, the beliefs, the modes of life, or the ideals of men. And accordingly the admiration for Intellect as such remains with the Scotch as an ideal to this day; and the nation in consequence supplies England with much that is best in her thought and speculation, in invention, originality, and business organization.

And now we are prepared in the next chapter to consider more in detail the policy required by England as a nation in order to fit her for the work of the Century on which we are now entering; regard being had at once to her opportunities, the character of her people, their excellences and defects, and to the part she is best fitted to play in the world and in civilization.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND.—RECONSTRUCTION.

WITH the present chapter we have arrived at the most difficult part of our task, namely at the point where it is necessary to make some attempt to outline a rough scheme of practical policy for the Twentieth Century or some part of it, in England, France, and America respectively; a scheme which shall be founded in each case on the evolution of Civilization in general as well as on the historic evolution of each of these nations in particular; and as the treatment of England will throw some light on the treatment of the others, to avoid repetition I propose to begin with her. In the last chapter it may be remembered, we marked out the limits within which the Statesmanship of the Twentieth Century has to work if it is to be effective for the great ends of Civilization. The first point is the maintaining and preserving of the type of political and social organization which in England has come down from history and tradition, a certain type of character bred of war and chivalry, but largely modified by modern manners and modes of life, and which rules throughout the entire society and is the ideal and animating spirit of the nation. This it is essential to preserve, while we direct our efforts towards altering the second characteristic, in which England's weakness is most clearly seen, namely a certain want of appreciation of and indifference to Intelligence as such, in

its various aspects of invention, initiative, originality, and organizing power; all of which it is necessary to stimulate to their highest point if the industrial supremacy on which the greatness of England has been built up, is to be maintained, and her ideal of character, her love of justice, her governing power, and her colonizing mission are to be held in trust for the benefit of the world. And so this cult of character and 'the gentleman' on the one hand, and on the other the starving and handicapping of great original designs in all departments of industry and thought for want of interest, stimulus, or encouragement;—these are the two poles, positive and negative, on which the practical politics of England in the Twentieth Century must turn; and the problem becomes how to keep up the English ideal and type of character and life, and at the same time to so gradually mould and alter it as to fit it for the serious work of an Industrial Age, rather than for the frivolities of Sport or the methods of outworn Mediæval warfare; in a word, how to stimulate the intellectual activity, energy, and invention of the nation, without destroying or weakening its ideal of character. Nor is this so easy as at first it might seem. For the culture of Character and Manners as an ideal on the one hand, and the culture of Intellectual proficiency as an ideal on the other, although not necessarily mutually exclusive, are usually so opposite in their affinities, that each tends to monopolize the whole man or nation to the exclusion of the other; and the effort to unite them in one is almost as difficult as the attempt to serve both God and Mammon. The poet is not usually a philosopher, nor the philosopher a poet, although in the great world-poets and philosophers there is usually a good deal of each in the other,—as in Plato, Dante, Bacon, Shakespeare, Goethe, or later on, Emerson, Carlyle, Newman, and Renan. Nor is it very different with nations. Religion reached the point of genius only in the Jews; Art and Beauty in the Greeks; Practical Administration in the Romans; Manners in the old *régime* of France before the Revolution.

And yet it is to be noted, that like those creatures in Nature that live until they have provided for their progeny and then die, these nations all alike succumbed to conquest or decay so soon as they had impregnated and enriched the world with the qualities which by an exclusive cultivation they had brought to so high a pitch of perfection;—the Jews when they had impregnated the Roman Empire with higher ideas of God and Human Morality through the medium of Christianity; the Greeks when they had enriched it with imperishable monuments and models of Literature and Art; the Romans when they had endowed the Barbarian nations by whom they were over-run with their Religion and Jurisprudence, and with a Church which by the superiority of its practical organization made itself the great power of the Middle Ages; while the Old Régime in France perished when it had given Manners and the refinements of Polite Society to the rest of Europe,— and so on. Now most of these movements, it is to be observed, grew and extended themselves until they stretched athwart the greater part of the then known world; but at the present time with the world more than ever broken up into a number of separate independent nationalities, each nation if it would survive at all in its complex environment, must not only be devoted to the cultivation of its own peculiar genius, but must be self-sustaining all round as it were, must embrace and embody what is best in the life of other nations as well as in its own. For although all nations must die when they have reached their term, only those that are composite and in harmony with their complex environment run a full and completed course. It is only the tree with its roots and stem and leaves that survives, not the golden flower alone, which perishes in the night;—Rome with its material organization *and* its religion, not Judæa with its religion alone, nor Greece with its art and beauty alone. And not even Rome, again, with its Church, Jurisprudence, and political organization; but the Barbarians who had embodied all these, and to them had added personal

liberty also,—and so on. In the same way too, if England would survive in her complex environment, she must not only continue to cultivate her own ideal of public and private Morality and Character, inestimable as these may be for herself and for the world, but must add to this the ideal of Intelligence as well, to fit her for that Industrialism which in the struggle for survival must in the future be a necessity for all the advanced nations. And what we have now to consider is how this is to be done. Now to this we may reply in the most general way, that it is to be done as in all her previous history, not by the violent superposition of one ideal on the other, but by a natural and gradual impregnation, in the same way as two antagonistic races on the same soil can be united only by gradual intermarriage; otherwise there would be the extermination, slavery, or political subjection of one by the other, but no true union. If this be so, we have now to ask how is this intermarriage of the ideal of Character on the one hand with the ideal of Intelligence on the other, to be effected, and that in a natural and spontaneous way?

Now to answer this again, it is necessary to recall the four practical keys or principles deduced from the Evolution of Civilization in general, which were to be applied if we would unlock the difficulties barring the way to the solution of the practical political problems of any given time. The first was that the organic historical type of the society or nation in question was to be preserved as a basis; the second, that all changes should be brought about by the gradual remodelling of the existing institutions, customs, laws, and habits of life of the people, and not by the enforced superposition on them of abstract ideals like those of Liberty and Equality, Laissez-faire, and the rest, of abstract mechanical arrangements like Universal Suffrage, or of abstract economic Utopias like the Socialist payment by 'labour-time,' and so on; the third, that all gaps between the different classes in a society were to be bridged over by easy transitions and stages, so that the society while

forming a connected hierarchy of positions and functions should, like a regiment, march as a single organic whole, each rank in touch with that before it and behind it from front to rear; or to vary the metaphor, be like a house in which all the stories and landing places were connected by a winding staircase of many steps, each easily accessible from the one below; and lastly, that all reforms should begin with alterations in the Material and Social conditions of the Society in the direction required, and that only then should Opinion be influenced and instructed with the view to winning for these changes acceptance, permanence, and stability.

In these suggestions I have combined the principles and methods of men so different as Burke, Buonaparte, and John Stuart Mill, as well as certain parts of the Socialists' creed;—of Burke, as the Statesman of orderly evolution in quiet times, who would preserve the type unimpaired and proceed step by step cautiously and by small increments on the basis of existing things; of Buonaparte, in his capacity of reconstructor of a society flattened to the earth by revolution and the abstract equality of men, and who, to set it on its feet again, gave it hierarchy and gradation, founded not on birth but on talent, from the lowest to the highest positions; working in as much of the old order at the same time as was possible, and providing for stability by a system of education which should mould the opinions of the coming generation in harmony with the alterations he had made in its material and social conditions; and of John Stuart Mill, as the political philosopher who made the principles of the Revolution acceptable to practical politicians in England, and so helped to reform many abuses which had to be cleared away before the organic and constructive methods of Burke and Buonaparte could be applied. And it is precisely these principles and methods of Burke and Buonaparte (in his capacity as legislator, not conqueror), that we propose to apply to the practical politics of England in the Twentieth Century now opening on us, namely in the first place to preserve the old

historic type of English life in its essentials, with its ideal of Character and its hierarchy of ranks and duties; and in the second place, to so grade the gaps between these different hierarchies that the attainment of each higher grade shall be a matter of Intellect as such, and not of mere birth, wealth, or status. In this way as Intellect is found to be the best *means* to promotion, it will soon become an end or ideal in itself, and one too that can unite with the Ideal of Character in a natural way and without disturbing the orderly course and evolution of Society as a whole. For just as personal prowess, courage, bodily strength and skill became the ideals of the Middle Ages because they were the best *means* for attaining the highest positions in Society and the State; so when Intelligence is found to be the best means for attaining the highest honours, it must become itself the ideal and aim, and that too not like the cuckoo by violently extruding the old ideal from its nest to make room for itself there, but rather by a union or marriage in which the old Ideal takes up the new into itself, as part of itself; and so, with Character as *end* and Intelligence as *means*, the offspring of this happy natural union must include and represent both.

But it is necessary to see more precisely how this happens, and for this purpose we may revert to what was said in a preceding chapter, namely that where Caste is absolute as in the East, and honour and position come by birth alone, Intellect being of no use for promotion cannot be erected into an ideal; and although England, as we saw, is not an absolute caste, there being everywhere a free passage at some point between one class and another, still these openings are so few, the number wanted to fill vacancies and those possessed of just the right qualifications so limited, and the avenues and passages to these openings so narrow and confined, that it is almost as impossible for the generality of men to obtain an entrance as to scale a walled town without ladders; and so the doors between one class and another although theoretically open are

as good as practically shut, and Intellect being comparatively useless as a means, cannot naturally be erected into an ideal or end. How then, it may be asked, do we propose to proceed? By leaving the existing hierarchy as it is, in a general way, but doing with it as you would with the roofs of houses to which you desired to give access to the men on the pavement, namely by putting up ladders from the street. In this way the roof instead of being accessible only to those who have wings or stilts,—which we may represent by birth, wealth, and so on,—shall be open to all those who have the personal energy to climb from stage to stage. In the same way, by grading the great gaps that intervene between the different stages or landing places in the social hierarchy, you will not only preserve the organic type of that society,—which was our first rule of statesmanship,—but you will at the same time so stimulate and encourage intellect, energy, invention, and originality all along the line, by the prospect of reaching to higher and higher rungs on the ladder, that you will fit society for the Industrial Age on which we have now entered, and so gradually convert an Aristocracy feudal in its structure and methods, into an Aristocracy modern and adapted to to-day; and that too without any loss of its finer elements, without violence, shock, or breach of continuity anywhere, but by easy transitions like those through which the Monarchy, for example, has passed from the time when it was the ruler of the Commons in Parliament to the time when, while still retaining its dignity, it merely registers their decisions; or like those through which the order of Knighthood has passed from the time when it was granted only for personal prowess and deeds of arms and chivalry, to the present day when it is conferred for civic virtues or business success; the hierarchy in society remaining the same, and the honours and titles the same, but the occupants of its different seats being selected for qualities more suited to the character and necessity of the times. And now, with these general preliminaries, we have to consider in detail

how this grading of the successive intervals in the hierarchy of English Life, material, political, and social, is to be attained.

And first as to the Land. Leaving aside the question as to whether eventually the whole land of the country should after fair compensation given be converted from private to public ownership;—leaving this proposal aside as premature under existing conditions and until all the collateral factors have come up into line, the object of British Statesmanship by whatever method reached, should be, I suggest, a twofold one: first to replace the present caste of great landlords by an infinitely wider distribution of ownership; and secondly, to so grade the new holdings in point of number and quality of acres held and owned by each individual, that unlike France where the doctrine of Equality, aided by laws specially devised to support it, has practically covered the country with properties so small that it continues to breed a race of men as unprogressive almost as the peasants of the old *régime*;—unlike this, the type and hierarchy and general character of country life while modified indefinitely in detail to suit the new conditions, should be essentially preserved. And for this purpose the proprietorship of land should range from a given maximum of acres possessed by the greater Landlords,—a maximum varying according to quality of soil, and fixed at some point which shall be consistent at once with dignity, authority, and position,—to a minimum for the Peasantry fixed at a point compatible with a decent and wholesome livelihood; and between these two extremes almost every size and grade of freehold; so that energy and ambition beginning at any point in the scale may according to their ability, culture, and social talent, reach a goal commensurate with their hopes and their powers. In this way the country would present the spectacle of a series of gradated holdings—large estates, freeholds, and peasant properties—all the owners bound together in a community of sentiment and interest, with the great landlords as the natural leaders at the top, and like a great sea-wall

presenting a solid united front, a natural rampart and defence against the abstract theories and precipitation of men massed in towns and easily led astray by illusory Utopias and dreams. But besides its value as ballast to the Ship of State, this wide ownership of land would serve as a recruiting ground for keeping up the vigorous stock necessary for the towns, as well as the historic type and ideal of the nation as a whole. Indeed, so important do I feel the maintenance of the agricultural interest to be, if only for its support of the physical basis of the nation, that when once the occupiers of the soil were its owners, I should consider it worth securing at almost any money sacrifice.

But this gradated hierarchy of country life, although furnishing all the necessary elements of ambition, material, political, and social, is of little use for our main point, namely of gradually marrying Intellect as the ideal of an Industrial Age to the old historic ideal of Character which is feudal in origin and is still largely connected with the ownership of the soil. This, if it come at all, must come from the region of Commerce, Manufactures, the Professions, and other interests of City life. And here again gradation must everywhere be our first concern. Not multi-millionaires, separated by a deep unbridgeable gulf not only from the miscellaneous millions shading gradually down till they reach the region of dirt and degradation, but from the great bulk of average comfortable people; not these, but incomes which at their highest point bear some reasonable proportion to the amount of individual talent, energy, and power, expended in acquiring them, and at their lowest point are compatible with the decencies of life—this is our ideal. For if we consider it, it is only in new countries waiting to be developed that it is politic to allow the great prizes which the earth conceals—its mines of gold and silver and iron and coal, its vast tracts of rich and virgin soil—to become the absolute possession of men whose imaginations have been ravished by the prospect of securing these glittering treasures for themselves

alone, and of planting their standards there like conquerors on the walls of stormed and captured cities; it is only in new countries that it is expedient that men should be attracted in swarms, with pickaxe and shovel, fired by the hope that in the scramble they may by scratching the ground depart Bonanza Kings;—it is only in new countries, and then only for a generation or two, that these natural riches should be allowed to become the absolute possession of individuals; but to imagine that in settled times, in countries long filled in with men, and on territories which have reached their limit, with vast populations engaged in peaceful industry and carrying on the work of the nation by an infinite complexity and subdivision of labour, so giving to the soil almost all its value;—to imagine that these vast populations are to remain subject to these monopolists waving their flags over them for all time, because for a generation or two in the infancy of nations it is expedient to hold men to new and risky enterprises by the glitter of the absolute possession of the land, is to mistake the means for the end, and to take the pickaxe and shovel of the pioneer, or the survey of the railway projector and speculator too seriously.

In England which is walled in from further expansion on its own soil, and is as self-confined within its own industrial circumscription as its land is by the sea; in England where all the favoured positions, long since occupied, command a monopoly value and rising 'unearned increment' from situation alone, and where the pressure of competition is so keen that not the prospect of Klondikes or Bonanza mines are needed to make men brave the hardships and undertake the risks of hazardous enterprises, but the prospect merely of modest bread and cheese;—in England, I say, it would be inexpedient to permit the occupation for all time as private property of these favoured positions either by individuals or by giant combinations of capital, thereby laying tax and toll on the bodies and souls of men, and creating a caste as absolute and tyrannous and as unbridgeable from below, as was the landlord caste in

France before the Revolution; and so introducing into the bosom of the State the means of its own impoverishment and destruction. To allow individuals or combinations of individuals to ensconce themselves on these peaks, and from them as vantage ground to wield powers out of all proportion to their public services, and by the obstructions they are able to put in the way of reform to block the wheels of Government and paralyze its action;—this is political madness.

What then do we propose to do, it will be asked? To which we would reply, that once the doctrine of the Socialists by which they make mere 'labour time' the measure of value has been flung aside as an exploded fallacy, and it is agreed that all inventors, organizers, and discoverers, shall receive the full rewards, honours, and titles, which are their due; once this is settled, there is no part of the Socialist programme which can be more legitimately applied to the present day conditions of industry in England than that which would hand over all routine public functions to the municipality or the State, and which would tax all monopolies created mainly by public demand, and all ground values and 'unearned increments,' which grow while their owners sleep. In this way the possessions of men would gradually come to bear some fair relation to the intellect, energy, originality, and organizing power expended on them; and instead of a close caste of millionaires separated by an impassable money-gulf from the great body of the people, Society would be as gently graded from the bottom to the top of the scale, as are intellect, invention, originality, and organizing power. Otherwise, and for all the difference there is in the principle, you might as well grant monopolies for the manufacture or sale of special articles to favoured individuals at once, as allow persons to possess an absolute property in monopolies merely because they or their ancestors chanced to pick up these particular positions in a scramble requiring little more intellect than if they were drawn by lot. It is now three hundred years since the granting of the former of these

monopolies by Queen Elizabeth nearly caused a revolution in England; and many are beginning seriously to think that something should be done towards abolishing the latter. For once Industry was freed from these absolute monopolies whose possession confounds all distinctions among men, and ofttimes puts the lucky fool above the far-seeing intellect, you can pile up what honours you please whether of money or title on all that comes from invention, discrimination, or original design. This done, the spectacle of brewers being made peers of the realm when they have sold beer *enough*, while the great inventors on whom the nation depends both in peace and war are in danger of starving by individual or national exploitation, would no longer be seen.

But even were the landed and agricultural classes on the one hand, and the capitalists, manufacturers, producers, and distributors on the other, graded and shaded to the utmost refinement of ideal justice by some kind of self-acting process which should follow the line of intellectual energy, initiative, and originality, still the most difficult and important part of the Statesman's problem would remain, a part without whose solution the solution of the other parts would be comparatively ineffectual,—the problem namely of how to abolish that most dangerous chasm of all, the chasm between the Capitalists as a body and the Working Class as a body; for it is in the yawning gulf between these that the main danger for the future lies. For unless this can be bridged, a caste of Capitalists separated by practically impassable barriers from a caste of Workers means social anarchy and industrial war; or in the event of their amalgamation, a strangling out of the Middle Classes as completely as the Middle Classes of the Roman towns were strangled by the Barbarian invaders who overran the Empire. What then do we suggest is to be done?

In the first place to get our principle we may with advantage take a hint from the history of Trades-Unionism, where the historian of the movement authoritatively sets it down that

no union could be formed in trades where the men could rise to be masters by their own exertions, and that it was only when the men found themselves hopelessly cut off from the machines with which they were to work, for want of the capital wherewith to buy them, and so stood helpless before their masters, with nothing but their bare labour to sell that they felt themselves a class apart, with interests which in their *ensemble* were so alike that a great Trade movement could be formed for their protection. What is wanted therefore to break down this class-solidarity again is to destroy the community of interest; and for this two things are necessary, the first of which must be completed before the second can begin to operate. The first is that the Trades-Unions should continue to so extend and perfect their organizations that a 'living wage' should be effectually secured to the workmen,—a wage not dependent on the caprice of the masters, on gluts in the market, on supply and demand, but which should be a first lien or mortgage on all industrial operations whatever; an irreducible minimum and definite industrial postulate, not a last shifting resource for hard-pressed masters. This once secured and become so habitual and so much a thing of course that there is no longer any danger of its being broken down or undermined by combination or intrigue, our second expedient will come in, namely to do with the gulf between Capital and Labour what we have done with all other social gulfs, to bridge it over by a series of gradated steps, each so easily accessible from the one below it that the Working Class which is now rooted and unable to stir, and as confined to its own territory as an Indian to his reservation, shall become like an army, on the march towards the promised land of Capital; and so broken up, therefore, as a distinct class or order in the State with interests peculiarly its own, as to be no longer recognizable as such. For if we consider it, if once pure Monopolies were abolished, and all natural agents and favoured positions were either taken over by the

Municipality or the State, or were taxed in proportion to the unearned increments that accrued to their owners owing to the progress of society in general;—once these things were done it is evident that the Capitalists who could make fortunes large enough to be individually remarkable would have to do so mainly by intellectual energy, originality, invention, or organizing power, and so would form the natural summits as it were of the industrial pyramid, summits to which the workers would repair for their leaders, and each step towards which would be so graded by easy transitions, that the lowest workman with his bag of tools on his shoulder could arrive there, had he the brains, ambition and energy, necessary; instead of these positions being, as now, the monopoly of mere Capitalists, who, as the Socialists complain, have invented nothing, organized nothing, and discovered nothing, but have merely inherited everything; monopolists entrenched by law and public opinion in castles with walls so thick and high as to be neither forced nor scaled by individual talent or endeavour;—even the foremen and managers who do most of the work being kept like the workers themselves more and more outside the walls. In this way when once Capital and Labour instead of confronting each other in solid platoons and in hostile attitude, and separated by an impassable gulf, have a bridge thrown across between them, we shall hear little of that Socialist doctrine of 'Labour-time' as the measure of value, in the face of a hierarchy everywhere freely open to talent, energy, and organizing ability. With Inventors at the top increasing the output of mere labour by the hundredfold, the doctrine would die a natural death, bankrupt by the logic of facts palpable to all, when men with equal opportunities and every facility to rise should find themselves occupying by their own specific gravity, precisely that position for which they were fitted in a hierarchy of industrial operations, infinite almost in its gradations and in its requirements.

But contemporary with, and collateral to, this bridging of the

gulf between Capital and Labour as such, every effort must be made, when once Labour has got its indispensable minimum, to still further break up its solidarity as a separate caste, in order that, like the ice on the rivers which is broken up by the advent of Spring, the whole may be loosened and set afloat, each part being able to move separately from the rest, and all to move onward in the direction of greater influence and power. For this purpose we must multiply all the aids and outlooks necessary to the differentiation and classification of men instead of leaving them lumped together as mere 'working-men,' and to this end the land must be more broken up for the purchase of plots both in town and country; cheap dwelling-houses must be erected; profit-sharing not only in wholesale and retail trade but in production as well; schools of technique and design, and of everything connected with industry without limit or stint, so that everything which will help to push the clever workman a stage farther may be at hand to assist him; and especially every security that can be devised for protecting him in and enabling him to get the full value of his inventions. In this way, with a preliminary outfit in the shape of a living wage consistent with decency and comfort as a sacred first-fruit and libation to the gods, and not to be tampered with,—with this indispensable minimum as a start, followed up and aided by all the apparatus with which rising talent has to work, as well as by all collateral incentives in the shape of property-owning, profit-sharing, and the like; with these all graded up to the topmost step, and the workmen pressing forward across the gulf separating them from Capital, to ascend the ladder of Capital itself, Capital and Labour, instead of confronting each other as solid masses in opposing camps, would be broken up into infinite grades and subdivisions with no unbridgeable gaps anywhere between, and like an army where each private carries a possible commission in his pocket, there would be no longer Capitalists and Workers but only Men at different stages on the rungs of the industrial ladder, a

ladder which includes both capitalists and labourers, and is without breach of continuity from bottom to top. With all this, and with the municipalization of all public services now in the hands of Monopolists, as well as the taxation of all unearned increments by the State; with each rung of the ladder charged with new possibilities so that each step gained is a help to the one above it, men start fairly equipped for the battle of life; while Intellect and Character united in their various aspects being the chief means for advancement, must end by becoming the twin-ideals of the nation; and the country which is now threatened with the loss both of its military and its industrial supremacy through the slight which it puts on all kinds of Intellect as such, will still keep its place in the forefront of the nations and of Civilization;—a place which it has hitherto retained by virtue of its rich natural resources alone.

As for the Professions in England, little perhaps need here be said. Whether it be the Army or Navy, the Church, the Bar, Medicine, Literature, or the applied Sciences,—they are all, theoretically at least, open to talent from the lowest to the highest rung, although even then only in very varying degrees. The most important of them, so long at least as dangerous wars are still possible or imminent, namely the Army and Navy, are in their higher commands the least open to talent (except in the cases of certain individuals who have acquired newspaper reputations, and whose promotion in consequence must be considered as a concession to public opinion) and are most open to family influence or wealth; and this is true also of the higher grades in the Diplomatic and Civil Services. The profession of the Law, again, to which the highest honours and dignities are still attached, although freely open to talent when once you are in the running, bars so many aspirants on the threshold on account of their want of sufficient personal or family interest, and is besides in its higher appointments so dominated by considerations of Politics and of Party Services,

that so far as pure ability alone is concerned it may be regarded as practically shut. But as the character of Judges for incorruptibility is so much more important than the extent of their merely legal knowledge and acquirements, and as that character has never been gainsaid, neither the Profession nor the Public can be said to suffer much from the anomalous methods employed in their appointment. Then, again, there is the Church which, although fairly proof against the power of rank or wealth in its appointments, has in the choice of its Bishops and Higher Clergy wandered so far from its true goal in the kind and quality of ability which it patronises, that these high dignitaries, whose religious opinions control those of the great body of the Clergy and therefore of the masses who are affected by their teaching, instead of being chosen for their power of keeping the Church in harmony and touch with the higher Thought of the time, are chosen rather for their success in keeping it in harmony with the lowest, the most ignorant, and the most retrograde opinion; for their skill in avoiding giving scandal by their doctrines to the intellectual babes of the flock; for their success in administration; for their knowledge of Greek texts; often for their secular administration of Public Schools (all of which it must be remembered, however admirable in themselves, are the work of the rank and file, not of the leaders) and, in a word, for everything except a theological knowledge commensurate with the Science and Scholarship of the time. In Medicine alone, among the older professions, is the arena freely open to talent, and to the right kind of talent too for its purpose;—but that is because neither it nor Science in general has any prizes to offer its successful aspirants.

As for Science in general, on which the future of all the greater industrial operations must ultimately depend, although all its positions are like Medicine freely open to talent, there is no provision anywhere made for its encouragement or support, except for its most elementary teaching; while so far as the endowment of research is concerned, its great workers might all

starve did they not furnish the necessary funds from their own pockets, or by the private help of those interested. All of which, it will be admitted, goes to confirm what we have so often said as to the little interest of the English people in any kind of intellectual truth as such, unless it has either a real or an imagined moral, or immediately practical and material, result. The confusion of thought in it all is fundamental. For although uprightness, honour, dignity, simplicity of character, and all the other qualities that go to make up the conception of the 'gentleman,'—although these which are the real ideals of the nation are good and great and must not be sacrificed at any cost, still they are at best only personal and individual virtues, and are therefore only the half of what a nation's ideal should be; they can no more be maintained in perpetuity without a great national prosperity at their back as support (a prosperity which must depend mainly on intellectual energy and initiative), than the dignity of the Crown can be maintained without money to support it. What then is still required? it will be asked. Two things:—namely, first that the pecuniary and other rewards in all those arts, sciences, and professions that are necessary to the industrial welfare of the nation should be put on a level with those of the Army, the Navy, the Law, and the Church; and secondly, that all professions alike should, without exception, be open to talent, and graded according to ability. These it will be observed are changes in the Material Conditions of Society, but we still have to ask what changes, if any, have to be made in the Social conditions of English Life to harmonise with these changes in the Material conditions; and here it will be seen that other factors will have to be taken into consideration if the historical type of English Society is to be continued unimpaired.

In the first place then we shall take a hint from Napoleon, who when he was preparing to reorganize France after the Revolution, saw that if the new men and new ideals which he wished to create for France were to be respected by the

multitude, they must be dressed in the same titles of distinction as had characterised the leading members of the old *régime*, while for the new distinctions which he created, like the different decorations of the Legion of Honour, they were to be the same everywhere for the same grade or rank in all the great departments of human activity,—in Church, State, War, Civil Service, Science, and the rest. And it is this which we would suggest for England in the Twentieth Century. Instead of new titles for each new department of human activity,—for men of Science, Inventors, Organizers,—we propose to retain the old titles of nobility to which the people are accustomed, and to confer them impartially on the higher grades of each profession, whether in Church, State, Industry, or Science; in the same way as in the particular profession which the Aristocracy most affects, namely the Army, men like Wellington, Wolseley, Roberts, Kitchener, and others who have been successful in the more important campaigns, have had the titles of Duke, Viscount, or Baron conferred on them (together with money grants sufficient to keep up the dignity) according to the degree of estimation in which they have been held, and the services they have rendered the community. These titles I should like to see extended in lines across the topmost peaks of all the great departments, the same rank and its corresponding title for the same grade; for those who have done signal service in Science, in Industry, in Invention, in Literature, as well as for those who have attained eminence in War, in the Church, on the Bench, in the Civil Service; and not at all for those who have only subscribed sufficiently to Party funds or brewed sufficient quantities of beer. But here again we have to beware lest having denounced the Utopias of the Past, we fall into similar ones in the Present. For unless those whom you propose to honour with the highest dignities can be made to square, as it were, with the national historic ideal of the 'gentleman' such as we have described him, nothing but failure can be the result;—and to imagine that the English people would permit their

highest and most dignified positions to be occupied by men whom they would not regard as 'gentlemen,' however eminent or distinguished in other ways they might be, is a dream. Before, therefore, the highest honours could be granted to men, unless indeed in very exceptional cases, they would have to be not specialists only in some branch of activity to whom the nation was deeply indebted, and who were an honour to it, but they must be men of all-round culture as well, and have acquired the habits, manners, tone, and general characteristics of 'gentlemen.' For it is to be observed that this curious complex product known as an English gentleman did not grow up in a night, but is the outcome of centuries of cultivation, and much of what he represents must be regarded as a legacy bequeathed to the nation, and one which as valuable to the world, is not to be lightly bartered away. It is the bane of bodies of men who have been cut off from the world of culture by position or circumstances and confined to their own society,—such as peasants and the great masses of men huddled together in manufacturing towns,—that they are apt to erect the common vulgarities of manner and opinion which are the outcome of their stunted and contracted modes of life, into rules of behaviour for the world at large; and individuals of great natural genius born among them are apt when they become famous, to carry the rough burrs and thistles, the dust and grime of their early environment adhering to them when they enter society, and to boast almost of these as if they were virtues. But Society is right in protecting itself by steadily resisting these intrusions, these false ideals which by being tacked on to true ones are in danger of corrupting the social currency,—these retrogressions, in a word, towards a more primitive and less civilized state;—Society is right in resisting and discountenancing this, and in insisting on the best standards being preserved and conformed to. Besides, in many of the higher walks of life, as on the Bench for example, the tone, instincts, and traditions of a gentleman are, as we have seen,

even more necessary and important than mere intellectual cleverness as such, and are by the public more highly prized. It is the same too in Business, and is largely so also in Politics and War. It is peculiarly so too in the general Leadership and Government of men,—and how important that is at the present time and in dealing with inferior races, needs no enforcing. Now it is in this particular perhaps that the special culture and training of the English 'gentleman' shows to the best advantage. To be obeyed without noise or violence, without raising of voice or excess of emphasis, without flurry or the use of the superlative, but by an intonation and manner quiet to the verge of stolidity, is itself a triumph of art; and rivals in its way the feats of the mesmerist. It is by no means a simple or an easy achievement, but is the last result of the special and elaborate cultivation of centuries among a people with abundance of material on which to practise in the shape of 'lower orders' and of 'inferiors' so called, but who at the same time, far from being slaves, are freemen enjoying as much personal liberty as their masters. It is the outcome of a kind of natural selection perfected through centuries, in which the object is to reach your end, namely of being obeyed, by the least expenditure of energy or emotion, and in the simplest possible way, along the lines of least resistance, by attitude and manner and reserve mainly, or even by intonation alone,—an intonation, I may remark in passing, which although different from, rivals in efficacy that of a celebrated horse-trainer whom I once saw, and who subdued his refractory subjects to his will by the peculiar pitch of note and tone in which he uttered his whoa! Its virtue lay in a combination of taking it for granted that he would be obeyed, with a levelness and steadiness of voice suggestive of Fate and inexorability like some natural and impersonal force; and one somehow felt that had King Canute spoken thus he would have arrested the incoming sea! To expect therefore that the highest honours and positions would be open to mere talent alone, and without regard to personal

character and behaviour, in a country educated and trained specially with a view to these acquirements, would be utopian. For although in England the object to be aimed at is that honours and rewards should follow intellect and talent, it is only such intellect and talent as can unite itself with these other qualifications;—in the same way as in America, no amount of mere talent among the negro population would atone for their colour or give them positions in society proportioned to ability alone. It was from the old *régime* in France that the manners and culture of half the nations of Europe were derived; and since that old *régime* perished in the Revolution, this culture has never been, according to M. Taine, and now perhaps can never be revived;—and so an art, which played on the minds of men like music, largely perished from the world. It is only on the moral side of these manners it may be remarked, and not on their merely frivolous and personal side, that the English with their coldness and reserve have followed their originals,—having shorn off all affectation and elaboration, down even to the barest directness, sincerity, and simplicity; but this residuum of pure gold with the never-failing politeness and courtesy which attend it, must under any form of government or society be well worth preserving to the world.

In this way then, with the hierarchy of English Life, economic, industrial, and social, graded from top to bottom by easy transitions and connections; with its castes of family and monopoly bridged over at every point; England while insisting on preserving unimpaired the integrity of her old historic type, must by the nature of things gradually tend to throw the higher positions into the hands of the intellectual, the accomplished, the capable, the energetic, and the original spirits, all trained and educated alike in the character, the tone, and the manners of 'gentlemen'; and so gradually and without breach of historic evolution and continuity, make Intellect the twin-ideal of the national mind; an ideal suited to an Industrial Age of Society rather than to an age of Warfare, and to an age of Modern rather

than of Mediæval Warfare—to warfare, that is to say, that has become scientific and depends more and more on calculation and invention rather than on personal prowess and skill, important as these may be and common as they are to the great international brotherhood of Civilized States.

Such are the changes in the Material and Social conditions of English Life, which in my judgment the Twentieth Century has gradually to realise and embody, as being necessary at once to the evolution of the historic type and to the march and evolution of Civilization in general. But to fully realise these changes, and to give them permanence and continuity when established, something more is necessary. We must act on the *minds* as well as on the *material and social conditions* of men, and must convince them of the necessity of these changes,—and for this Education is wanted. But as this Education must, as we shall see, be common to all civilized States; before proceeding to consider the problems of French and American Politics in reference to the general progress of Civilization, we must endeavour to indicate in a general way what those changes are in educational methods and institutions and in the nature of the subjects taught, which we regard as necessary to give permanence, stability, and continuity to the policy of States.

CHAPTER III.

THE BIBLES OF THE NATIONS AND SECULAR EDUCATION.

IN the present chapter I propose to follow up the rough outline of Practical Policy for England which I ventured to suggest in the last chapter by a parallel scheme of National Education;—a scheme, I may remark in passing, which as following out of the evolution of Civilization in general, ought, if true, to be applicable to all advanced nationalities alike, however much it may have to be modified in detail to meet the special and peculiar circumstances of each. But in attempting this I find it necessary to pause for a moment to gather up a few of the principles which are to guide us in its construction, and shall begin by an attempt to dispose of the question which lies on the very threshold of our subject, namely as to what is the *natural* function and place of any scheme of National Education in the machinery and economy of States. Now, as answer to this we may say I think at once, that the object of every system of National Education must be to harmonise the Institutions of a country with the Bible which either from tradition or from deliberate forethought it has adopted as its guide in life; and both, with its Material and Social conditions and environment;—and this as we shall now see is to be done sometimes by remodelling the Institutions in the direction of the Bible, sometimes by re-interpreting the Bible in the direction of the Institutions, and sometimes by adapting both

to the Material and Social conditions and necessities of the time. But the natural order in a healthy state of things may be said to be, first the National Bible; then the Institutions, political, religious, and social, founded on it; and lastly, the scheme of National Education which shall weld the two together and give to the whole structure of the State, solidity, stability, and permanence;—any scheme of education, it may be remarked in passing, which does not aim at this, but is concerned mainly with ministering to personal or individual taste, preference, or culture, however important these may otherwise be, having in the natural order of things to take a secondary and subordinate place. But to see all this clearly it is necessary to go somewhat into detail.

And first as to those National Bibles to which I have referred. To begin with, we may observe that these have originated in the most diverse ways, and have made good their claims on the most opposite grounds. The Bible of the Chinese, for example, is founded on the individual penetration into the world and human life of certain ancient philosophers and sages,—Confucius, Mencius, and others; the Bible of the Jews, again, on the incidents of their own history, and the instructions and warnings of their leaders, prophets, and teachers, acting or speaking under the inspiration and guidance of Jehovah Himself; while the Koran, or Bible of the Mahommedans, arose out of the immediate visions and inspirations of the Prophet, coming into existence full and complete within the space of a few years in the life of a single individual. Then again, the early Christians up to the time of Constantine had, it may be remarked in passing, no National Bible, but only a gospel of personal salvation in the New Testament; hence the frequent refusal of the Christians to fight in the wars of the Empire before that date, and their cheerful willingness afterwards when Constantine and his successors had made Christianity the religion of the State.

When Catholicism in turn was thrown off at the Reformation, the nations who adopted the Calvinistic faith had to look

around again for a national Bible, and found it in the Jewish Old Testament to which they afterwards so often appealed; while the National Bible both of France and of America with their Rights of Man, their Declaration of Independence, and their proclamation of Liberty and Equality, was the philosophy and scheme of life of a single individual making no pretence to supernatural inspiration—Rousseau.

In such diverse ways then have the Bibles of the Nations come into being, with such different credentials, from such various points of view, and exhibiting such different qualities of insight and penetration; but before we can show how systems of National Education are adapted to them, we must pursue our analysis of them still farther. And the first thing we have to notice is that in the majority of these National Bibles, as we have called them, codes of conduct for the Nation and for the individual are bound up together. In Confucius, for example, not only the conduct and mode of life which will lead to the greatest personal happiness and welfare, but the duties and relations of the different classes in the State to each other and to the Emperor are duly set down. The Jews, too, so long as they remained a nation and occupied their own land of Palestine, found in their Bible not only the commandments and ritual necessary for their own personal welfare, but precedents and prescriptions for their conduct towards other nations as well. And not for Foreign Policy only, but for Domestic also; the functions, offices, ranks, powers, and privileges of priests, levites, and teachers of the Law, in their relation to each other, to the kings, and to the people at large, being embodied there, or carried on the wings of oral tradition, to find a place later in the Talmud. It is the same too with the Koran, which is not only full of detail on the conduct and action necessary for personal salvation, but contains an entire epitome of Policy, Foreign and Domestic:—domestic, in its subjection of all men and things to the supreme will of the Prophet; foreign, in the laconic brevity of the

alternatives it offered to the vanquished, of Conversion, Tribute, or Death. In the Middle Ages, again, the Catholic Church, which not merely assumed to be, but in reality was, the living Bible of all the European nations, not only prescribed the way of salvation to the individual by its offices and sacraments, but prescribed forms of Government as well, organized Crusades, released subjects from their obedience to their rulers, and dictated the policy of Emperors and Kings. The Reformers, again, especially the Calvinists, on throwing off the authority of the Catholic Church as their political guide were obliged to find a new Political Bible for themselves somewhere else, and under the circumstances no alternative was possible but the Old Testament;—the New Testament, which is a Gospel of Peace for nations as well as for individuals, being obviously inadmissible. What they did accordingly was to make the Old Testament their Political Bible, and the New their Bible of personal salvation; finding in the former the precedent for the Theocracies which they attempted to set up at Geneva and elsewhere, as well as for cutting off the heads of ungodly kings. This, however, was confined to Puritan and Calvinistic communities, and did not last long; and since then the Bible or supreme guide for National or State affairs is no longer bound up in the same book with the Bible of personal salvation. The Protestant kings everywhere succeeded in getting supreme power into their own hands, reduced the Church to be the handmaid of the State, and found in their own wills their political Bible, supported by the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings;—the New Testament remaining the gospel of personal salvation as before. Then came the days of the French Revolution, with the political and social philosophy of Rousseau as political Bible of all the nations that embraced it; a Bible which was carried across the seas to America, where embodied in the Declaration of Independence, in the Rights of Man, and in Liberty and Equality, it continues to rule to this hour. In France herself this Bible of Liberty and Equality was obliged

to retain the Catholic Church as its guide to personal salvation; and it is this mixture of necessary but deadly incompatibles, namely of abstract Liberty and Equality as a Political Bible, the Catholic Church as a personal Bible, and Militarism as an ever present necessity of the position of France among European States, that keeps her, as we shall see farther on, in that mortal *impasse*, from which at present there seems to be no escape. From all of which it will appear how intimately dependent are the Foreign and Domestic Policy of Nations, their material constitution and politics, on what we have called their Bibles or supreme guides in Life. But it will also have been observed that these National Bibles are neither all written books nor all fixed and unchangeable in doctrine, neither all supernaturally inspired, nor all bound up with gospels of individual salvation; and before we can clearly see how systems of National Education are related to them, we must pursue our inquiries into the causes of these differences still farther. To begin with then, I think that these differences will all be found to depend, firstly, on whether the religions with which these National Bibles are bound up are monotheisms or polytheisms; secondly, on whether the States that have embraced them are conquering and assimilating States, or confine their activities to their own people and their own internal affairs; and thirdly, on whether these Bibles were produced in Ancient and Mediæval or in Modern Times. And the first point I would remark is that written Bibles are the peculiar products of Monotheism; and that no written Bible, genuinely embraced and believed in, can maintain itself in an Empire or State at once conquering and assimilating. The reason that written Bibles are peculiar to Monotheisms is that they must be believed to be the product of some single mind, or will, or deity, and not of a number of conflicting wills; and the reason that States that embrace them cannot be at once conquering and assimilating is that these States being founded on the fixed and inexorable commands of their Bibles, they cannot adapt to

outer circumstances or Fate when the latter is too strong for them, and so in the end must break or dash themselves to pieces against the iron walls of the world. The Jews, for example, were monotheists, and had a written Bible in which they profoundly believed; and, as we know, they could not have moved among the mixed populations of the Roman or Gentile world without breaking some precept of their law at every turn. What, then, were they to do? Clearly to shut out all outside influences, political, religious, and social, and to live their own lives in their own way; and when they could no longer do this, there was nothing for them, as we now see, but to break in pieces as a nation, and dispersing themselves over the wide world, hold themselves aloof in all but business from the rest of mankind. The Mahommedans, too, were monotheists, and had their written Bible, the Koran, with its fixed and definite alternatives of Conversion, Tribute, or Death; but when they became impotent to exact any or all of these penalties, what resource was left them but to draw their skirts together, sit tight within their own borders, and await the hand of Fate? And this, as we see in Turkey, is what they are now doing and are prepared to continue to do. The Calvinists of the Reformation again, having made the Old Testament their political Bible, had no alternative but like the Jews to try and realise its commandments in the constitution and affairs of the State, and so to make of their Government a Theocracy. This they accordingly managed to do for a time in a small isolated self-governing municipality like Geneva, but when they attempted to do the same in Scotland, they found the old Feudal elements too strong for them—as they had already done, indeed, in the greater part of Switzerland and Germany. But as their written Bible, as interpreted by Calvin, was inexorable, and no compromise with the world was possible, what were they to do? What, but like the Jews and Mahommedans, draw themselves together in little flocks under their ministers, and, while paying their rents to the landlords, treat these in all other matters as

non-extant; the consequence being, as we may see even at the present day, that the entire land-owning class in Scotland might be removed to-morrow to the middle of the sea, and so far as national character or sentiment is concerned, whether political, religious, or social, they would never be missed.

The above are instances of the fact that Monotheistic nations with Bibles written under immediate Divine inspiration, cannot bend to adverse circumstances, but must either withdraw themselves apart, shrink within their own borders, or break outright. They could never therefore have had any genuine imperial or conquering mission, as they could neither assimilate their conquests nor adapt themselves to outside influences, and so could only either become the nursery ground of ideas and conceptions which other nations must take up and expand, or must ultimately perish. Now in nations like these, it is clear that secular systems of Education for the purpose of upholding the authority of their Bibles could have no existence. There being no scepticism there was no need for them; religious teaching and secular education were one. And accordingly we find that among the Jews before the Dispersion, the Old Testament and the unwritten Law of the Scribes were the sole education of the people,—at once secular and religious. So too in purely Mahommedan countries there was no secular education apart from the teaching of the Koran. It was only in the midst of infidel populations like those of the Jews and Christians in Spain, that the Mahommedans added for purposes of proselytism a knowledge of profane writers as well, like Aristotle, or of subjects entirely of bodily import, as Medicine. It was the same too with the Calvinists of the Reformation. Their principal education was the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (as indeed was the case until lately in Scotland) and the course of study at the Universities was selected mainly with an eye to its efficiency in rebutting Romanism and Anglicanism: the inclusion of Classics being a concession to

those among them who were anxious to keep their reputation for learning in general up to the level of their Humanist antagonists.

And now observe how different it is with Polytheistic nations, where the conflicting wills of many gods having to be considered, there can be no National Bible of fixed and definite authority and prescription; and where, in the absence of this, States can grow and expand at their will according to their power, adapting themselves to circumstances and necessities from within or from without, without bar or hindrance from the trammels of a written code. And accordingly it is in Polytheisms that we have those conquering and assimilating nations that like Greece and Rome have developed, expanded, and grown into Empires; and where in the absence of National Bibles like those of monotheisms, the State in the person of its representative steps in and plays the part of Bible to itself. To the Greek and Roman the State was the supreme object of devotion both of the individual and of the community; statues of the Genius of Rome and of the Emperor were erected in all the great cities to receive the homage and worship of the people; and if the worship of Minerva or Jupiter were supreme over all in Athens and Rome, it was because they were the special patrons of the State, and because in days when Physical Science was yet unborn, in the absence of knowledge of the natural causes of things, supernatural wills were regarded as the main springs of all national events good or bad. The function of Secular Education accordingly in these imperial, conquering, and assimilating States, was not as in monotheisms, to adapt Institutions to the commands of a written Bible, but rather to adapt them to the necessities of their material and social conditions and environment. And hence it was that in Greece and Rome, instead of rigid Bibles imposed by authority, you had free political discussions; and these took the form in Greece, as we see in the works of Plato and Aristotle, of Political Science; and in Rome, of Schools of Jurisprudence and

the adaptation of the rigid Twelve Tables to the broader demands of Equity and what was called the Law of Nature.

And now observe how these two kinds of Secular Education, the one peculiar to Monotheisms, and the other to Polytheisms, were combined in the Catholicism of the Middle Ages. When the Barbarian invaders stormed in on the Roman Empire, the Church which had converted them to Christianity as they arrived, now found itself confronted with the still more difficult task of *moralizing* them up to Christian standards. But as these Barbarians were not only the children of the Church but the masters of the State as well, the Church, while it led them, had to adapt itself to them also. But Christianity was a monotheism and had a written Bible; and the peculiarity of monotheisms with written Bibles was, as we have seen, that they could not adapt to adverse circumstances and necessity. What then was to be done? The Church stepped forward, pushed the Bible into the background, and herself by the authority which she claimed to have received with the power of the Keys, adapted both her teachings and her institutions to the necessities of the situation with which she had to deal, and against which otherwise she would like Judaism have gone to pieces. At first her own teaching was sufficient, and she naturally enough repudiated the idea of any help from a secular learning which was tainted with Paganism. For long before the Barbarian invaders had extinguished the last remnant of Roman rule in Italy, the Church had completed and perfected that vast system of doctrine and ritual which was necessary to cope with the immorality of the Barbarian manners and customs, and to raise them to the higher Christian plane. The faith of these unkempt Barbarians in the Church, their spiritual mother, was absolute and unwavering; and as there was no scepticism abroad to dim that faith, secular knowledge as a bulwark and aid to it was not required. And as all the old doctrinal difficulties had long been set at rest by the magnificent and harmonious scheme of Augustine, and no new ones had yet

arisen, there was nothing to divide the clergy themselves. The consequence was that with the sacraments in their hands they managed to get on very well without learning of any kind, sacred or profane. And, accordingly, about the beginning of the seventh Century we have Pope Gregory reproaching his clergy for their ignorance even of the Latin in which the services of the Church and the Theology of the Greek Fathers of the West were written. At the same time, so little help did he feel that the Church required from Pagan sources, that we find him reprimanding one of his bishops for having been found with one of the old Classics in his hands. It is evident that in an atmosphere of implicit and universal faith or credulity like this, Secular Education for the purpose of reinforcing Church teaching would have been a supererogation and excess. This condition of things lasted for another century or two, and is the reason why the period, so far as learning is concerned, is the darkest of the Dark Ages. But with the schools of Charlemagne discussion began again,—as was natural when youths were brought together in numbers,—and as a consequence of discussion, doubt began to creep in between the interstices of the old web and system of doctrine. And then for the first time since Augustine had laid the ghosts of Plato and Aristotle by a system of doctrine which superseded while it included both, it was found that he had left positions open or unconsidered from which doubts could be thrown on the truth of the Eucharist itself. And as these doubts had arisen in an indirect way out of the Philosophy of Plato, the authority of his great rival Aristotle was invoked as an antidote to the rising heresy; and after a century or more of discussion by the Schoolmen as they were called, the help derived from the philosophy of Aristotle in defence of the orthodox doctrine of the Eucharist was found to be so great that henceforth the works of that Pagan Philosopher became part of the secular education of the Schools. In the meantime the position of the Papacy in reference not only to the Church itself but to the Secular

Power, had completely changed. Instead of being only *primus inter pares* among the other bishops of the Church, the Pope had drawn nearly all their authority into his own hands; instead of being merely the honoured arbiter in the disputes between emperors and kings, he now claimed to dictate to them the parts they were to play and the policy they were to pursue. The body of the Clergy, too, both regular and secular, had long departed from their primitive apostolic simplicity; and when the pretensions of the Popes in regard to questions of faith and morals, and of the Clergy in regard to absolution, were contrasted with their private lives, the gap between profession and performance was found to be so wide and impassable, and the moral miasma that arose from it so foul and noisome, that the scepticism which was formerly confined to pure doctrine, and which had been removed by the help of Aristotle, was now transferred to the organisation of the Church as a whole. Large secessions in consequence made their appearance here and there, among the Waldenses and other sects, in the direction of a greater purity, truthfulness, and simplicity of life. But more than this, the Bible, or large portions of it, having meantime been translated into the vulgar tongue, so that all might read it who chose, it was not long before men began to deny the claims of the Priesthood to be either the exclusive interpreters of Scripture or, through the Sacraments, the exclusive channels of salvation. Here, indeed, was a heresy at once more radical and more menacing than any that had gone before! What was to be done? To meet it the Church not only established new orders of begging friars devoted like the heretics to poverty, purity, and simplicity of life, clothing them besides with more authority and sanctity than that of the secular clergy; but to combat the pretensions of the laymen to be their own interpreters of Scripture, or their own judges of questions of faith and morals, she issued new bodies and systems of Law and Divinity;—and so the works of Aquinas and other great Doctors of the Church were added

to the curricula of the Schools. But all was unavailing to stay the worldliness and depravity of Popes and Cardinals, priests and monks; and when on the Fall of Constantinople the treasures of Ancient Literature were poured into the lap of Italy, when the works of Plato,—who had for centuries been eclipsed by Aristotle,—together with the remains of the ancient poets and orators were brought to light to feed the starved sense of beauty, and to be at once the admiration and delight of mankind, the Church unable to cope with this influx of Paganism, Heresy, and Scepticism into the Schools,—and to which a series of dissolute Popes all unheeding had given entrance,—gave way under the weight. The Reformation came, and the cataclysm which Tetzel's Indulgences had precipitated was not long in extending both to the doctrine and the authority of the Church;—and again, as result, huge tomes and systems of Theology on this side and on that, for attack and for defence, were added to the learning of the Schools.

Here Secular Education seems to have remained, until the new Copernican Astronomy burst on the world and threatened the Theology of Catholic and Protestant alike. By destroying the old conceptions of Plato and Aristotle on the structure of the Heavens and the nature and constitution of the Stars, on which so much of their Philosophy hung, it struck a blow at the influence on thought of these great Philosophers, from which they have never recovered; and if their works still remain on the list of University Studies, it is rather as models of style or of logic, or for their general spaciousness of thought, than as defences of either the faiths or the institutions of men. What then was to be done? Catholicism, wrapped in its dogma of the infallibility of all to which it had ever given its seal, remained stolid and immovable; but Protestantism, hampered by no such restrictions, and being now put on its mettle, had to look around for other defences against Scepticism;—and accordingly treatises, illustrating the Providence of God in History or in the works of Creation, systems of

Natural Theology, and so on, began gradually to make their appearance. But the main defence came from Modern Metaphysics, which arose under Descartes, and attempted to demonstrate the existence of God from an analysis of the nature and constitution of the Human Mind. This demonstration, according to Descartes and his successors, was to be found in the very nature of knowledge itself; for they contended that there could be no passage between an immaterial thing like mind and a material thing like the world, unless God Himself were the bridge which united both in the act of knowledge. Kant, on the other hand, thought that the demonstration of the existence of God could only be found in the Conscience or Moral Sense of man, which he figured as a fixed finger ever pointing to God as to its pole-star;—and so Modern Metaphysics in its turn became a necessary addition to the studies of the Schools. In the meantime, and since the failure of the Calvinists and Puritans to found a Theocracy on the model of the Old Testament, the kings in most of the countries of Europe found their political Bible in their own wills alone, and accordingly books upholding the Divine Right of kings to govern as they chose, were also added to the teachings of the Schools. Here again Secular Education seems to have paused for a time, until the writings of Rousseau gave to the world a political Evangel in the truest sense of that term,—in place at once of the Catholic Church, the Old Testament, and the personal wills of Sovereigns, all of which were now losing their authority over the nations to which they had so long served as guides.

Falling into the hands of men maddened at once by hunger and oppression, this political Bible of Rousseau precipitated the French Revolution; and this, by the conflagration it set up, threatened in turn the political and social institutions of ages in most of the countries of Europe, and more or less modified them in all,—England perhaps excepted. And when on the heels of it Modern Capitalism arose out of the Factory System, and

still further revolutionized or undermined the institutions which the Revolution had left standing, innumerable volumes of Political Philosopy, Political Economy, Socialism, Metaphysics, Theology, all written for the purpose of attacking or defending the new order of things, were added to the schools of higher education in all civilized lands. With this the Eighteenth Century closed. And then with the Nineteenth Century came Modern Physical Science and Biblical Criticism, which, growing up silently in the laboratories and libraries of private students, threatened not only to render obsolete all the old defences of Religion,—whether drawn from Aristotle, the Fathers, the great Doctors of Catholicism, Natural Theology, or Modern Metaphysics,—but also to discredit the entire scheme of salvation on which Christianity rested—all indeed except the ethics of Jesus Christ himself. And with what effect on Secular Education? This, that Physical Science and Biblical Criticism, which, instead of being a support to orthodoxy were found to bear so heavily on it, could not be frankly admitted into the curriculum of Secular Education,—and, indeed, cannot be until those parts of the old Theological system on which they cast such discredit are divorced from all connection with the New Testament and the Gospel of Christ. And as this is far from likely to be soon the case with the great masses of believers, Physical Science, although having obtained a foothold in Secular Education, is still grudgingly admitted, and not at all in proportion either to its own just claims or to the part it is destined to play in the future beliefs as well as in the industrial concerns of mankind.

From the foregoing sketch then it will have been seen that the natural function of a system of National or Secular Education is to keep the Institutions of a nation, political, religious, and social, in harmony with the Bible which it has adopted as its supreme guide in life; and both in turn in harmony with its Material and Social conditions and environment. Its natural function, that is to say, is primarily to instil certain serious beliefs, religious, philosophical, social, essential to the welfare

of the State; and only secondarily the merely ornamental one of promoting personal culture, artistic expression, and the like, however important for the individual these may be. And accordingly if the Classics and Mathematics are still supreme in our system of Education, it is not, as I have said, because they are any longer of use as an arsenal of argument and demonstration in support either of the faith or of institutions, but because in this transitional stage of society between Feudalism on the one hand and the Modern Spirit on the other,—between Toryism and Liberalism, Theology and Science, Catholicism and the principles of the French Revolution.—the peace can be kept only by an armed neutrality and self-denying ordinance on the part of the respective combatants, by which each laying down its weapons consents to forego its claims, and allows a friendly ally of both, the Classics, to take the lead; in the same way as the real ruling parties in a country will, owing to their opposite political principles, allow neither to govern, but give the place to a sovereign figure-head who is friendly to both. But it is an evident corollary of all this, that when the nations shall again have agreed on a Bible which shall be their supreme guide in life, Classics, Mathematics, and the special Sciences must step down from their throne, and the rightful king be installed in their place, however much they may be pursued privately for culture or ornament, for purposes of style or expression, as models of reasoning or rhetoric, or for the training which they give to the general intellectual powers.

With these preliminaries which have been rendered necessary by the extent and importance of the subject, we have now to ask whether it be possible to determine what is to be the Bible of the Nations for the Twentieth Century, and how their systems of Secular Education are to be adapted to it and harmonized with it. To begin with we may say that if there is again to be a Bible of the Nations, that is to say an authority that is more or less to control and guide their actions and institutions, and not to leave them drifting on from decade to

decade in the hands of opposite parties who imagine that by looking through the keyhole of the day and hour alone they can see the drift and tendency of the world;—if there is ever to be a Bible which will exercise a controlling influence over all the parties in a State, it will be found, we may venture to affirm, to have certain characteristics. In the first place, in the present day when the wills of gods are no longer, as was the case in the Ancient and Mediæval world, believed to be the main causes of events, especially of national successes or reverses, no National Bible of a supernatural origin or enforced by supernatural sanctions will again be required or indeed will be possible among civilized States. In the second place, as each State is now but a unit amid other surrounding States whose actions are independent of it, who cannot be controlled by it, but who on the contrary surround it, limit it, and enfold it as man himself is enfolded by the elements and by Fate,—under these circumstances it is evident that no Bible with fixed and unalterable commands like those we have seen peculiar to monotheisms, as of the Jews, the Mahommedans, and the Puritans, can ever again be possible in this world. If then there is ever to be a Bible for the nations as separate units, it must be not supernatural in origin, but scientific; not fixed and rigid, but infinitely plastic and modifiable by the logic of circumstances and events; while at the same time having the general authority, weight, and applicability, of the Laws of Nature themselves.

But is any such political Bible to be found? To which we reply in the affirmative,—and the reader will by this time have a shrewd suspicion of where I am likely to ask him to look for it. Carlyle was the first to give a hint of it when he wrote, "Universal History is the true Epic Poem and universal Divine Scripture whose plenary inspiration no man can question." But the time was not ripe, the material was not ready, and men's minds not prepared for such a conception. What I propose is that we should make of the laws running through

the evolution of this Universal History, our supreme guide in the education of Nations and States. In other words, it is the Evolution of Civilization in general that I propose to make the Bible of the Nations for the Twentieth Century,—in place of the Old Testament of the Calvinists and Puritans, the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages, and the philosophy of Rousseau of France and America in the Nineteenth Century;—leaving the New Testament as the guide of the individual conscience and life as before.

But before showing how this Bible is to be established as the Political Bible of the Nations, and how a system of National Education is to be grafted on it, we have still to give reasons for believing that it must in the future be more and more looked to as the supreme general guide in the policy of Nations and States. In the first place then I must point out that the method of evolution is now generally accepted as the method of Providence or Fate, not only in the formation of our globe itself and the procession of the plants and animals on its surface, but in the history and changes of Empires and States as well. In the second place, all the past or existing Bibles under which the nations have marched, have become or are becoming discredited as political guides by the more advanced peoples, whether it be the Old Testament, the Koran, the Catholic Church, or the Evangel of Rousseau. In the third place, the Evolution of Civilization as a whole gives the greatest length of line from which to determine the direction in which the world is moving, and so furnishes each nation with a standard and measure, as it were, by which like some great astronomical movement, its own special movements are to be harmonized and their irregularities and deficiencies corrected; whereas the evolution of each nation along its own special line, unless modified and supplemented by this general line of direction, would only confirm that nation in its own peculiarities and limitations, good or bad, as the case may be;—as we saw with England in whose case the march of Civilization in general

would seem to demand that if she is not to be left behind in the race, she must add the ideal of Intelligence to her own ideal of Character which she cherishes so much and which is drawn exclusively from her own evolution and history. In the Past, the usual effect of this tenacity of each nation in holding on to its own particular line of development, good or bad, was that the nation died when it had bequeathed the virtue that was its specialty to the common stock of Civilization, whether by impregnating other nations with it or imposing it on them by force; all of which virtues have been successively added to the stock of Civilization, and so have helped to furnish us with the material from which the laws of Civilization in general and its line of direction are to be deduced. But as nations have no wish to die merely for the pleasure of yielding up their special perfume to the world at large,—as the Greeks, Jews, and Romans have done,—but each on the contrary would add to its own excellence those of other peoples as well, it is to this Evolution of Civilization in general that they must go as to their Political Bible, not seeking to change or reverse the trend of their own national evolution and development, as we shall see, but to add to it, supplement it, or modify its direction, by these larger movements of Civilization as a whole.

And now observe that this Bible of the Nations as we have called it, this evolution and direction of Civilization as a whole, being itself the outcome of the opposing pulls of conflicting tendencies, institutions, and social and political movements, in the same way as the orbit of the heavenly bodies is the outcome of opposing forces, it will not violently suppress or displace any of these movements, but like a model figure will act by showing what a State would be like if it followed the line marked out by its own history and tradition modified by this larger movement of civilization as a whole. And as this Bible would act by conviction and persuasion purely, it would if lifted up draw men to it by the perception at once of its truth and expediency. Its function, in a word, would be much like

that of a judge between opposing counsel,—it would throw its weight into the scale when Party interests, whether from too headlong and precipitate attempts to realize the Ideal all at once, on the one hand, or too great inertia and deadness to all great causes on the other, were forcing the Ship of State either too far outside or too far inside the line of its proper curve. It would act, too, not by depressing or damping the energies of the great motor forces engaged in the amelioration and progress of mankind, but like the governor-valve of a steam engine, by equalizing and harmonizing their united action as they advance to their destiny. It would not necessarily abolish Party Politics, but by its pressure on existing parties would draw them more closely together and leave less of an unbridgable gap between them; or when parties are split by faction into infinitesimally small divergent particles, as in France, it would, like a magnet held before a jet of spray, convert them into a single united and homogeneous stream again. In this way it would help to reduce the waste, the reaction, the recoils, which are incident to the movements of nations when they are left without some supreme moderating and controlling authority, and which a general Bible of the Nations, as the outcome of the sweep and movement of Universal History, is, in the discredit into which all other National Bibles have fallen, alone able to supply. A few examples of its moderating and transforming influence on the utopias of the present time will illustrate my conception of the part our new Bible of Civilization is capable of playing in the Practical Politics of the Twentieth Century. And here, perhaps, I ought to remark to prevent misunderstanding, that this work is written entirely from the point of view of Practical Statesmen engaged in the actual work of legislation, and not at all from that of the individual citizen who may be full of ideal causes on the one hand, or of retrograde ones on the other;—and with this proviso I may observe that the first effect I should expect from a Political Bible founded on the Evolution of Civilization in

general would be to modify (when it comes to *action*, and not in the stage of mere propagandism) the twin utopias which have played so great a part in the politics of the Nineteenth Century. The first of these is a utopia to which all men of high religious purpose, all men of sensitive conscience, and all men who live in the contemplation of ethical ideals, are liable, a utopia which lately has been carried to its extreme logical conclusion by Tolstoi,—the utopia, namely, that because the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount and the Gospel of non-resistance are the way in which the *individual* if he would but conform to them, would find the greatest blessedness, therefore (and because it is always open to the individual to practise them) they are at a given point of time the best for communities or nations as well. Now this is a fatal confusion of categories, as if one should say that what is best for a particular organ or cell of the body at any given time, is necessarily best for the body as a whole; the truth being that to administer always the remedy that would benefit the special organ would often be to kill the patient outright! In the same way a nation that at all times should act on ultra-peace principles, would be in danger of losing its independence altogether. The laws that regulate the movements of bodies in the mass, as gravitation, are different from the laws that regulate the movements of the particles of which they are composed, as chemical affinity, electricity, and so on, and must not be confounded. It is the same with Societies and the individuals of which they are composed; and to act as if they were identical can lead to nothing but disappointment. The other twin utopia to which I have referred is the Liberty and Equality of Rousseau who imagined that because this might be the happiest condition of men when space was allowed them to roam about in, like the wild Indian, at their own sweet will, therefore it would be the best for them when shut in from further expansion, when divided and regimented into a diversity of trades and occupations, all bound together into the unity of the State (the

essence of which is hierarchy, subordination, and a graduated scale of authority and obedience), and where abstract liberty and equality are not only not best, but not even possible at all. Then, again, our new Political Bible would keep within reasonable bounds the doctrine of Laissez-faire, or leave all things alone to work out their own destiny, a doctrine which grew directly out of the Factory System, and presided over the Politics of England in the interests of the employers for the greater part of the Century; an utopia founded on the illusion that because men on the pavement, and traffic in the street, (where all have equal rights), will get along best if left to themselves and the rule of the road, it will be the same with Industry,—even should a certain number of persons have succeeded, like Barons of the Middle Ages, in seizing the favoured positions on the heights, and so be able to exact tax and toll from all who chance to pass by.

Now the reason our Bible of Civilization as supreme guide in Practical Politics would have prevented these extreme utopias is that if we cut through the History of Civilization at any given point in its long progress, with the object of determining its character and composition, we shall find that at all times it has contained two strands or cords, namely one of Physical Force in some form or other, and one of the Ideal of Right; one of actual Inequality, and one of the dream of ideal Equality; one of actual Coercion or Restraint, and one of abstract Liberty and Laissez-faire; whereas the utopias we have mentioned would do away with one of these elements entirely,—either with the Physical Force in all its forms, or with the Inequality in its every shape, or with every kind of Restraint or Coercion—an attempt as hopeless as the endeavour to get Perpetual Motion in a world of Friction, or a magnet with a positive without a negative pole.

Again the adoption of the Evolution of Civilization and its laws as the Political Bible of the nations, would modify that entire body of opinion known as Modern Socialism,—and

especially the two doctrines which we saw in a former chapter were so dangerous to Modern States. The first, that because Society has entered on a new stage, the stage of Collectivism namely, in place of Capitalism, it is therefore necessary to jump it to its full maturity at once, instead of passing it through innumerable intermediate stages or points of advance,—as if a man should attempt to jump from one story of his house to another at a bound, instead of reaching it quietly by a staircase. The second, and equally dangerous doctrine of Labour-time to which we have so often referred, the doctrine, namely, that the average time spent on an object is the measure of its value and therefore of the remuneration due to its producer, would be destroyed at once by showing that all the great advances in Civilization, of whatever kind, material or other, are the work of the few, the original, the energetic, and the organizing spirits; and that far from the labour of smiths and carriers and machinists being equal in value to that of an equal number of inventors, discoverers, and organizers, working the same number of hours, it is the work of the latter mainly that renders even the existence of the great mass of the population possible at all. If we could cut off to-morrow from the wealth of the world, all that portion of it which is the result of the machinery of production and transport invented or organized by the few, half the world would die of starvation within a month; and we are not to be taken in by the fallacy that because a patent has run out and the mechanic is as free to use the machine as the inventor, therefore he can claim the product as his own in any strict sense of that term. The greater part of the product is the result of the machine, and therefore belongs by right to its inventor or inventors. Indeed, had there been any room for originality in the work of the great mass of labourers, the doctrine of labour-time could not have arisen; for were the work, say, of the bricklayer or mechanic such as could be greatly improved by originality, as he would get no more remuneration for his better product he would soon have seen

the absurdity of the doctrine,—and so it could not have arisen at all.

The Evolution of Civilization as a whole, again, as our Political Bible, would somewhat moderate the pretensions of those Politicians who are proud to consider that they are nothing if not practical and up-to-date, by showing them, as the record of the Nineteenth Century legislation in England in a former chapter has I think demonstrated, that they might as well attempt to understand what is going on by watching the procession of passing things through a keyhole, as imagine that they can get the true proportions and practical bearings of any political phenomenon by looking at it through the keyhole of their own age and generation alone. It will also disappoint, I fear, the hopes of those specialists in History who are tempted to apply not only the lessons of particular past periods, but their methods also, to the Politics of To-day; by showing that neither the material and social conditions, the stock of opinions and beliefs, nor the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of other ages, were the same as they are now, and that therefore no generalizations founded on them can be aught but dangerous, treacherous, and misleading, if sought to be applied to the Politics of To-day. And finally, a connected history of the Evolution of Civilization as a whole would teach the ardent Political Reformer full of lofty ideals, that while the Practical Statesman must welcome all advanced causes, all social movements in the direction of the ideal, as the very instruments by which further progress can alone be reached, he can in his position as representative of the nation, when called on to act, utilise as much only of these programmes as the times will allow, reserving the rest until all the collateral and auxiliary forces necessary for the advance have come up into line,—on pain of wasteful reaction, mal-adjustment, and recoil.

With examples like the above of what the effect on the Politics of the Nineteenth Century would have been, had a systematic Evolution of Civilization as a whole been in

existence and been accepted as the Political Bible of the Nations, we have now to ask how this Bible is to get itself accredited and accepted as such for the Twentieth Century in England, France, and America,—not only among the learned few but by the people at large,—and how a system of National Education is to be moulded and adapted to it, so as at once to perfect it and to harmonize with it.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

IF the Evolution of Civilization in general is ever to get itself accredited as the true Bible of the Nations, it must, in these days of Democracy, be by persuasion alone, by the free judgment of all those engaged in the formation of Public Opinion—by Pulpit and Press, by Statesmen and the leaders of Political Parties, by the great army of Specialists in all branches of knowledge, by the Heads of Schools and Universities, by the Novelists, who educate a portion of the public not to be reached in any other way, and, lastly, by the intuitions of the private heart. These once convinced, this Bible can then be everywhere proclaimed as the supreme guide in the Politics of Nations, can be given the most important place in the curricula of the Universities and Schools, and a knowledge of it and examination in it can be made the preliminary test for entrance into the Civil Service and for all appointments in Church and State. By this I do not mean that it will displace other studies, but it will stand in the midst of them, like the heart in the body, as the vital centre to which they all lead up, and from which they all get their inspiration and life. But before exhibiting in detail how this is to be done, I desire to say not only that if the Evolution of Civilization is the true Bible of the Nations, it must be the true basis of a system of National Education,—as we have seen to be the case with the

Bibles of other times and peoples,—but that, in any case, it is the best possible basis for that education; and a few considerations will show that in this I am in no way exaggerating its claims. In the first place, then, as in the Evolution of Civilization in general, all religions, sciences, arts, philosophies, moralities, and politics, have played their part, it having passed through them all, and being the outcome of them all as it were, it must be the essence of them all, the correlation of them all. A knowledge of it accordingly must furnish us with the widest possible range of all-round culture, inasmuch as it must exhibit all forms of knowledge and experience in their mutual relations and subordinations both to each other and to the whole. It must exercise and develop the mind, therefore, on every side, and must demand for its comprehension at once breadth and subtlety, minuteness and comprehensiveness of view. Being founded on Science and research and not on Authority, it welcomes all kinds of knowledge as auxiliary to it, and being in consequence indefinitely expansible and improvable, the attempt to add to it or to perfect it in whole or in part, far from exercising like ordinary school knowledge the mere faculty of memory, must tax all the ingenuity and constructive power of which the mind is capable. In this it resembles the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, which, by requiring constant re-casting of its teachings to meet the necessities of the times, brought into play, owing to the very breadth and complexity of the problem, the highest powers of co-ordination and comprehension to bring all its parts into harmony;—as we see in Augustine, Aquinas, and other great Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

If then the Evolution of Civilization in general is the true Bible of the Nations, and a knowledge of it the true and natural basis of a system of National Education, we have now to ask how it is to get itself accredited and established as such, how Public Opinion is to be brought round to it, how, as Carlyle asked in reference to Mahomet, it is to get its sword?

This is the problem that now confronts us, and to answer it I should say in general terms that we must begin by persuading the Leaders of each section of opinion that Society is to be benefitted by it, and convincing them that it will add to the efficacy of their own labours. To begin, then, with the Press as the central point for the diffusion of all kinds of knowledge that has a public and not merely a personal and private interest. Touching life as it does at more points perhaps than any other organ of opinion, and having to hold the balance even and to steer its way between conflicting fanaticisms of all kinds, good and bad, between the theories of reactionaries, pessimists, doctrinaires, abstract idealists, philanthropic specialists, men of one idea, and so on; having to look at all things broadly and not with the eyes of specialists, and even when most partisan to keep in view the national welfare rather than purely party aims; it occupies, if it can continue to keep itself free from corruption, a rather more statesmanlike attitude and point of view than the Party Leaders themselves, who as leaders are more deeply committed to definite party issues, are more under the dominion of the political and economic fetishes which they themselves have helped to create, and are more wedded by their personal pledges to rigid and inelastic political platforms than are the great organs of the Press, with their greater freedom from responsibility and that greater flexibility and detachment of mind which comes from writing under cover of anonymity. But unfortunately the Press, like the Statesman, has for the most part no fixed and definite pole-star by which to steer, but is guided by the to-and-fro shifting necessities of the day and hour alone. Still even then the attitude and criticisms of papers like the 'Spectator' and the 'Times' (to mention two only out of many serious and well-instructed organs of opinion) are often superior in penetration to the proposals of the Statesmen in power; and with the experience which the years have brought us I have no hesitation in saying that the criticism to be found in the old files of these papers, when compared with the policy criticised,

will be found to bear out my contention. If then a portion of the Press has done so much without a definite pole-star by which to steer, how much more may be expected of it when armed with a Political Bible as mariner's chart in the shape of the Evolution of Civilization in general, which as epitome of the experience of the world as a whole, would correct the illusions into which all must fall, Statesmen and Press alike, who imagine that the bearings of any great political problem whatever can be rightly seen from a study of To-day alone.

As for the Statesmen themselves, nothing further need here be said. The whole of this work has been an attempted demonstration of the illusions into which they have fallen by taking their stand on what can be seen through the keyhole of the Present alone, and in consequence mistaking for political ends what, had they given themselves a greater length of line as perspective, they would have seen to be temporary political means merely. And in proof of this we pointed to the long series of political movements connected with Liberty and Equality, Universal Suffrage, Laissez-faire, Socialism, and the rest, extending throughout the whole course of the Nineteenth Century; movements which would have been greatly modified had the Statesmen with whom they were associated had the Evolution of Civilization before them as their Political Bible and guide; while as for the Political Parties into which the Legislatures of most European countries have split themselves, they can receive nothing but benefit from the existence in the midst of their distractions and divisions of a fixed and definite scheme of National Policy which does not depend on the opinions of individuals, but follows in strict historical sequence from the evolution of Civilization in general and of their own country in particular—a policy that would stand in firm outline as a fixed image around which they could unite when passions ran high, when political tension was extreme, and when the minds of men were perplexed by doubt, hesitation, and uncertainty.

Then, again, there is that other great organ of opinion, the Church. What, it will be asked, can the Evolution of Civilization do for it? In the first place, as this Evolution of Civilization is, in our scheme, to take the place of the Old Testament,—the New Testament remaining as before, as embalming the ethics of Jesus Christ,—the Church would in this way be relieved of all that part of its teaching to which the prevailing scepticism is due; teaching which is a stumbling-block to the best spirits, and which is the cause of its loss of hold on the most cultured and intelligent portions of the community. It would be relieved, for example, of its Mosaic Cosmogony which runs counter to the conclusions of Physical Science, and which alienates all those, an ever-increasing number, who are imbued with the Scientific Spirit. It would be relieved, too, of the low code of morality attributed in many passages to Jehovah Himself, as well as to His servants, David and others;—a code of morality which, natural enough to a small tribe in an early stage of civilization, revolts the humaner instincts of men imbued with those higher ethical ideals which have been developed in the course of Evolution. And in place of the bad Science and bad morality which the Old Testament consecrates by its authority, the Evolution of Civilization would show us a morality which, beginning almost in pure Brute Force, has grown gradually upwards towards the Ideal, a morality therefore which can be referred without mental reservations, to a Providence which is leading men slowly but steadily onwards and upwards to the high ethics of Jesus himself, and which, far from alienating men from the Church, must unite them to it again in the endeavour to help on the realisation of that ideal as its inspiration and life.

But the influence of a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization in general on the special subjects taught in the Schools and Universities—on History, Sociology, Political Economy, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, and the rest,—will be still more

striking. For although this general knowledge will not interfere in any way with the research of Specialists, however recondite, it will prevent that research from degenerating into mere hodman's work,—as if one were to count the number and catalogue the chance location of the stones on a turnpike road, and call it knowledge. Like a planet it will, by its larger orbit and attraction, exercise a steady influence over these special studies which have been thrown off as its satellites, and by its larger general movement give direction and aim to the labours of those engaged in these separate departments of study,—much in the same way as the great Darwinian hypothesis does in the domain of Biology and Botany. And if the work of these specialists should not be found to confirm the account given of the larger movement of Civilization in general, it would at least direct attention to the particular facts that are out of harmony with it, and so prepare the way for a construction more in consonance with them. But that a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization as a whole is absolutely necessary to the Specialist in every department except that of Physical Science will be more apparent when it is seen, as I am now about to contend, that no doctrine or generalization drawn from within the limits of any of these special departments of study, can be put forward as a general truth for the world at large, on which it can stand and act as on a scientific truth;—and for this reason, that any such doctrine or generalization being drawn from facts which have been torn from their organic connection with the whole web of which they are a part, must be correlated with, and of course more or less modified by the laws of the whole, before it can be held to express the full truth; and as this has never as yet been done in reference to Civilization, none of these doctrines or generalizations put forward by Historians, Politicians, Political Economists and the rest, can be true, but all are and must be more or less false and misleading. If true for a particular time, a particular country, or a particular condition, they must

be false for all others; and can therefore have no general applicability until they are so modified as to be capable of being re-attached harmoniously to the Evolution of Civilization as a whole. As I consider no point more important, I will endeavour by a few instances of what I mean, to make my position more clear. Take to begin with, the older English Historians of special periods. What political doctrine, I ask, appropriate to and applicable to the present day, did either Grote, Froude, Macaulay, or Carlyle draw from their studies of special periods of the world's history—doctrines be it observed which they imagined to be of universal applicability, and hoped to see adopted by the world to-day? None, I will venture to say, neither unlimited Democracy, nor benevolent Despotism, nor any form of Whiggism, is the political panacea for the present day. Indeed, had these Historians had before them the Evolution of Civilization as a whole as a ground-plan into which to fit their principles and methods at their respective periods, and so to give them their harmonious and appropriate setting, they could no more have expected the political principles and methods of the olden times to be applicable to the world of to-day, than they could expect a piece of mosaic from the vestibule of the Palace of the Cæsars to fit in with the pattern of one taken from a Cathedral of our own time.

Or take again Political Economy,—especially the Orthodox School, as it is called, which culminated in John Stuart Mill. Could its so-called Laws, which Statesmen and Publicists threw in the face of Reformers for half a century, have been seriously put forward as general truths of Industry, had it been seen firstly, that they were drawn from the Factory System, and that that system far from being the normal condition of Industry, had never been heard of in the world before; and secondly, that they were drawn from the analysis of a Society and Industry figured as in a state of rest, and not from society and industry in their normal state of circulation, movement, and evolution? You might as well expect to get a knowledge of

the laws of the heart's movements by analysis and dissection, after cutting it off from the general blood circulation; or of its action, after cutting off its nerve supply from its connection with the brain by which it is slowed or quickened. Indeed with its phenomena thus isolated, one would have known beforehand that its laws, as well as the conclusions deduced from them, must be false—its law, for example, of Wages being drawn from Capital, its doctrine of the Wages-fund, and its conclusion from them that increase of Production was what was wanted, and that Consumption might safely be left to take care of itself,—and so on. Indeed it was not until Hobson, the most philosophical and penetrating of living Economists, pointed out that the movements with which Political Economy concerned itself were living dynamic movements like those of Society and of Civilization in general, and that therefore its laws must be laws of dynamics, that the true physiology and laws of Industry were established, and the first step taken, but only the first, in the solution of the problem of how to make the laws of Political Economy harmonise with those of Civilization as a whole. Until this latter problem too is solved, the so-called laws of Political Economy can have no general validity, but will serve only as another instance of how false the laws of any special departments of Social Science are when divorced from the general laws of Civilization.

It is the same with German Socialism. How could its doctrine of Labour-time, for example, have ever been seriously put forward, if its professors had glanced for a moment at the most ordinary History, where all the great works on which the progress of the world has depended, not only in Industry but in every department of life and thought, have been the work of the few,—of so few, indeed, that the names of most of them have been preserved through all the ages to this day? Had the Socialists not attempted to cut off Industry from its vital connection with Civilization as a whole, this particular fallacy could not have arisen.

Or take another special department of Thought,—the Science of Morals. Here again we have to remark that the attempt to discover any laws that shall be true on the subject of human Rights when cut off from their organic connection with the neighbouring political province of human Mights with which they are now and always have been bound up in the actual life of the world, is utopian, and can end only in conclusions that are either barren, false, or altogether misleading. When one thinks of how Empires and States have been tossed about from hand to hand by the chances of war and brute force, of Might in a word; how hordes of marauders have from the morrow of some successful campaign continued to sit dividing the spoils of whole countries among themselves for centuries, while throwing the leavings to the vanquished as to their dogs; or how in commercial and industrial ages bands of speculators rising on the backs of the patient multitude, end by becoming multi-millionaires, raising or depressing the markets of the world at their pleasure with the stroke of a pen; when one thinks of this, and of how those who feel the pinch of it in their narrow and straitened household lives, (regarding it as they might a famine or any other visitation of God), think it all quite natural;—with these effronteries of Power staring us in the face, one feels that to profess to take seriously all the organized machinery of courts of Law and Justice by which are nicely and scientifically determined the exact amount of right or wrong, of praise or penalty, involved in the saving or stealing of pence or sixpences, is an elaborate hypocrisy. The necessity of it all under present conditions we see and admit, and to take part in the solemn farce we feel obliged; the poor man who has laboriously saved his pence and put them in the Savings Bank against a rainy day we pat on the back, while to the extravagant, the reckless, or the criminal, we point the way to the police court and jail; and so long as our own minds are not subdued by the solemn farce, all is well. Emerson said that you might as well sit in church and listen with pious hypocrisy

to doctrines which you no longer believed, for if you went outside into the street things were just as bad! But I must confess that this straining at gnats while swallowing whole camels unheeding, this ethics of sixpences, necessary to keep the underlings quiet and patient while they are being shorn, has always given me pause. I am, in consequence, as ashamed of being caught uttering a moral maxim as of being found out in some act of meanness or dishonesty! For after all, what is this thing called Right in actual life, this which the Moralists and Moral Philosophers from their special standpoints are trying to reduce to law, order, and system;—what is it for the most part but Might idealised, as it were, and made smooth and respectable, polite and cosmopolitan? What is it but Might with its nails pared, its hair parted, and all its roughness and harshness smoothed away? But to imagine that while you are taking so much trouble with the parting, so that the number of hairs on each side shall be exactly equal (this is what is called Right) the beast which you are endeavouring to make so highly respectable is not alive and will not wake up presently, is indeed an excess of simplicity! The Might, let no one doubt it, is always there, whether it be a dominant race in the case of a mixture of races, or a dominant class among people of the same race; if not a military or priestly caste, then a caste of commercial or industrial monopolists; and when the time comes will show its claws and claim its spoils as the bear its food;—and to attempt to construct a Science of Rights or Duties without taking into consideration these underlying Mights, to devise a scheme of Ethical proprieties with these carnivora waking up ever and again to overturn it all as a whale a boat, is as ridiculous as to affect to lay down with mathematical accuracy the chances in the fall of dice that have been loaded from the beginning. It is true that the kind of Right which the Moralists discuss with so much scientific anxiety does indeed make progress (in fact the whole object of these volumes is to demonstrate this) and will come to its full fruition without

doubt in the millennial time; but it will come neither by moral preaching nor moral discussions. It will come when the Material and Social Conditions which have permitted or encouraged a section of the community to load the dice, while the rest look on and give them a free hand by regarding it as all right and natural—it will come when these Material and Social Conditions are altered, and not till then. By which I mean that Moral Philosophy and Ethics are a department of Politics, have their roots in Politics, and cannot except on pain of falsehood and error be divorced from Politics; as Politics itself in turn has its roots in Civilization as a whole, and as we saw in the illusions of the Practical Statesmen which we have passed in review in former chapters, cannot be divorced from it. However important, therefore, in other respects the labours of the Moral Philosopher and Specialist may be, his results and conclusions must be held suspect from the outset; they cannot be true until they have been so modified by conclusions drawn from the evolution of Civilization in general as to harmonise with them. Then, and not till then, will they become fruitful.

Speaking generally, then, we may say of Specialism in the Social Sciences that, while by its minute subdivision of labour, it thoroughly breaks up the ground, and by its analysis and dissection explores and lays bare the inmost recesses of its subject, no conclusion drawn from it can be true until it has been so modified as to harmonize and adapt to the laws of Civilization in general. Then only is it ready to be handed over as a truth for public acceptance and guidance. But it may be remembered that I specially exempted the specialisms of Physical Science from the criticism which I have just passed on Specialism in the Political, Moral, and Social Sciences; and as the point is important, before going further the reader may justly demand what grounds I have for this exemption. In the first place, then, I would remark that the Laws of Evolution in the Physical World, unlike the Laws of the Evolution of Civilization, must, to be ultimately accepted as true, be an

induction from the most hidden and recondite as well as from the most obvious phenomena of Nature, from the infinitely little as well as from the infinitely large, and must be seen to include and harmonize with both. But it is only recently that the forces of Nature have even begun to be effectively explored, and much labour will still have to be spent on them before we can be said to understand the constitution of the Material World in its ultimate forms and forces. The Laws of Evolution, accordingly, as stated by both Spencer and Darwin, must be held as good working hypotheses only, provisionally true as it were, until it is ascertained whether the future discoveries in the more hidden regions of Nature will bear them out. Spencer's deduction of the phenomena of the Universe from a fixed gross amount of Force following the laws of the ordinary forces we know, and Darwin's Origin of Species from natural variation and from the winnowing out of the weaklings by the struggle for existence, although they *may* prove ultimately to be the whole truth on the subject, still must for the present be regarded as crude preliminary hypotheses, until their applicability to these more mysterious, recondite, and as yet undiscovered facts, are clearly seen. And as each such new fact brings us a stage nearer, it is evident that the labours of the innumerable specialists engaged in penetrating deeper and deeper into the hidden recesses of Physical Nature must be ever bringing us more and more truth, and nearer and nearer to the ultimate truth.

But in the Social, Political, and Moral Sciences it is otherwise. For here our conclusions are the product of two factors, namely first of Human Nature in general, and secondly of the Environment in particular. But this human nature is the same old human nature we know so well, which is common to every age of the world, and which for scientific purposes must be regarded as constant and invariable in its essence, however much its different aspects may vary in strength relatively to each other at different periods of the world's history; in the

same way as the constitution of the human body may be regarded as the same in all ages, however variously its parts may have been developed at different stages of its history. For the Social, Political, and Moral Sciences therefore, as distinct from the Physical, we *begin* with all that it is necessary for our purpose to know of the one factor, and the solution of their problems depends on how this constant and known factor is affected by differences in the other, namely the social, moral, or material environment as seen in the course of Civilization. The problems, that is to say, of these Social Sciences are primarily dynamical, as of the phenomena of a river in motion; and not primarily statical, as in the Physical Sciences where you must begin by determining the ultimate constitution of the particles of water of which it is composed. And as the phenomena of Civilization observed at any given time must have their roots in what has gone before, it is evident that it is only by watching the whole procession of these phenomena from the beginning of Civilization, and over as wide an area as possible, that we can get the true causes and bearings of any of the separate parts, that is to say, it is only from the Laws of the Evolution of Civilization as a whole that you can properly get to understand the laws of any of its parts,—Political, Religious, or Social. If, therefore, you choose to cut off any portion of this complex of phenomena from what has gone before it and from what accompanies it, and isolate it as a specialty for the purpose of more minute investigation, what chance is there of getting at its true causes and relations, when these, like the blood in Shylock's pound of flesh, have their source in the parts you have deliberately excluded from your investigation? And hence it is that we have said that while all specialism in Physical Science gives us more and more truth, and leads us nearer and nearer to the ultimate Truth; specialism in the Political, Moral, and Social Sciences, though essential for the collection and analysis of facts, leads us by its theories into falsehood and error.

And now to return; we have to ask what help the Evolution of Civilization as a whole has to offer to the students of Physical Science. To which we may reply, none—directly; for as we have just seen, the phenomena of the two lie on different planes and follow different laws. But indirectly it is of great value to them, especially when the question is one of Religion or Philosophy, or the Problem of the Universe as a whole. Here a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization in general affects our interpretation of the problem by correcting the one-sided view which we should get of the nature of the First Cause or Inner Essence of things if we approached it from the side of Physical Science alone. For in the evolution of the Physical Universe the physical forces as they break and differentiate into their infinite variety, do so on the flat as it were, (these forces being *different* from each other but not necessarily *higher* or *lower*) in the same way as the waters of a river in overflowing broaden out into a lake or marsh; but in the evolution of Humanity and Civilization, on the contrary, the human or mental forces in their differentiation rise in successive terraces or planes of morality, ascending from mere brute force at the bottom, upwards to the higher ideals of morality at the top; the moral forces thus differentiated and set free being *higher* as well as different from the brute forces at the bottom; so teaching us that Physical Science, dealing as it does with the *structure* of things, and with the *quantity* and formal distribution of life, however useful as an *instrument of investigation*, cannot, like the Social Sciences which deal with *function*, *mind*, *quality* of life, be a *standpoint of interpretation* of the aim and meaning of the World as a whole.

And lastly, the Evolution of Civilization will be of service to the Individual, who will find in it a home for those ideals which the old religions promised him,—but of which Modern Scepticism has bereaved him,—by giving him the hope of their eventual realisation slowly but surely in this world. But at the same time it will teach him as well as the Statesman, the Preacher,

the Religious and Social Reformer, that he cannot jump the element of Time, but that his ideals can only be reached by the slow course of evolution, a step at a time, on pain of dislocation, reaction, and the production of as much evil as has been displaced by them.

If, then, we assume for the nonce that by these or other considerations we have succeeded in convincing or persuading the leaders and makers of Public Opinion that a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization in general is not only necessary for the welfare of the State, but is necessary to give truth, power, and efficiency, to their own special labours; if we have convinced them that the Evolution of Civilization is the true Bible of the Nations, or, in Carlyle's words, is 'the Universal Divine Scripture, whose plenary inspiration no man may question,' and therefore is the natural basis of a true system of National Education; if, further, we have shown that it is the best basis and centre of an all-round culture from which not only all ornamental studies may radiate, but on which armies of specialists can draw for inspiration and guidance in their own proper work; we have now to show how this system of National Education with the Evolution of Civilization as its keystone is to be organized and instituted.

The first and indispensable preliminary then is to do with the world of knowledge what we proposed to do in England with the Material and Social World, namely to grade it from top to bottom by easy stages like the steps in a staircase, so that no obstacle shall intervene to prevent a man from climbing to as high a point as his intellect and industry will carry him; there being nowhere a gap or interval so great but that each stage shall be within easy reach of the stage above it,—from Board School up to University, from the special professorships up to those charged with keeping the general Bible of the Nations up to the level of the best Thought of the world. For it cannot be too seriously laid to heart that wherever, either in matters of education, morality, or manners, the gaps between

one class and another are too wide, there all effort, aspiration, and hope are as much brought to a standstill, as Industry is in a world of despots on the one hand and slaves on the other; or as personal intercourse is between different classes or different colours in close systems of caste. In India, for example, where the chasm between the intelligence and learning of the Brahmins and that of the great body of the people is practically unbridged by any graduated scale of educational institutions, the mass of the people have neither the hope, the aspiration, nor the interest to know, and so remain contented in ignorance and stagnation. It is largely the same in Roman Catholic countries, where the immense intellectual interval between the educated ecclesiastical hierarchy and the common people who are expected to believe rather than to know, is not bridged by any attempt at a graduated scale of educational institutions; in glaring contrast to the situation in purely Protestant countries, where the Bible has always been open alike to the private judgment of the people and their ministers; and where, as for example in Scotland, the congregations so often having to choose these ministers, provision has everywhere been made for a system of education commensurate with these requirements, by a scale of institutions leading without break or difficulty from the Parish School up to the High School, and from that again to the Theological College or the University. It is the same, too, in all matters of Morality, Custom, Manners, Fashion even; for it is noticeable that where there is too great a social disparity to tempt the lower class to ambition or hope, as between masters and servants, the manners, dialect, and social code of each class have no tendency to approximate even after years of the closest personal intimacy; it being observable that the valet and the whole servant class are farther removed in dialect, speech, manners, tone, and so on, from the masters whom they personally serve, and whom they have every opportunity of imitating if they choose, than those engaged in other occupations are from the class immediately above them, from whom they acquire by

rubbing shoulders, as it were, a greater share of general knowledge and culture. How different in America, where social distinctions are so much less marked, and where those that exist are so finely graduated as to be easily accessible from immediately below; where European immigrants of the lowest intellectual and social grade become, after a few years' residence, almost indistinguishable in manners, dress, habits of thought, sentiment, and opinion, from the great mass of the native-born population;—the gap between the white and coloured races alone, in spite of laws favouring political equality, being as we should expect *à priori*, as unbridgable as before.

Having then, first through the Leaders of Opinion, and then through a general consensus of Public Opinion, established as preliminary a graduated system of Educational Institutions from the Board Schools, through secondary and intermediate Schools, to Colleges and Universities, and culminating in the study of the Evolution of Civilization as a whole,—we are now ready to apply to it our second principle, namely, that of State Recognition. For in European countries where classes are sharply divided, this is the only measure 'the man in the street' possesses by which to estimate the importance of anything except money-values; and without it your very excellences will lose their colour and your virtues be construed into vices. It was want of State recognition that rendered Shakspeare, the glory of the English-speaking race, liable to a whipping as a rogue and vagabond had he been caught abroad and not happened to have the king's license to play in his pocket; and had they not of recent years received the recognition of the Aristocracy and of Society, actors might have sat in the stocks with the populace throwing rotten eggs at them to this hour! But how, it will be asked, is this system of National Education based on the Evolution of Civilization, to be given State recognition? By making a knowledge of this Evolution in various degrees an essential part of the Civil Service examina-

tions, and for all grades of appointments both in Church and State, with dignity, rank, income, and status corresponding; those occupying the highest positions of all in this knowledge answering in their own departments to the Lord Chancellor and Archbishops in England at the present time. In this way existing educational institutions, except that there would be more intermediate schools, would be practically untouched; and except for the presence of a body of men supreme over all, and grading and judging them all by reference to the highest existing knowledge of Civilization in general, the educational landscape would know no change.

But the Public Institutions of all kinds, what about them? it will be asked. Leave them alone, we say, but give them too State support and recognition in proportion as they reflect the highest teachings of Civilization. Let us take for example, Religion and the Church. In our proposal, the Old Testament, as the mausoleum of exploded Physical Science in its early chapters of Genesis, and of outgrown Politics and Morality in its historical portions dealing with the wars waged under the guidance of Jehovah—this Old Testament should be supplemented by the Evolution of the World and of Civilization; while the New Testament with its Ethical Idealism, its Gospel of Renunciation and of Love, as the highest point yet reached for the *individual* soul, would remain as before. In grading the existing forms of religious teaching in all their multiplicity, for purposes of State recognition, two principles completely reversing the old standards are to be observed. The first of these is that as our watchword is Evolution and not Authority as heretofore, the latest teaching being the most highly evolved, is, other things being equal, likely to be nearer to the Ideal and nearer to the ultimate end which we have at heart than is the oldest, which having come down through centuries of Tradition, proceeds from a more primitive and therefore lower stage of Morality and Thought. The second principle is that although all Religious

Creeds may be equal in so far as they bring comfort or consolation to the individual who embraces them,—whether they be Buddhist, Mahommedan, or Christian, whether they be Liberal Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Salvation Army,—they are most unequal (and this is the crucial point) in the degree in which they are calculated to forward or retard the progress of Civilization, and the intellectual, moral, and political advancement of the world. In the foremost nations accordingly those religions or sects which are most deeply imbued with the teachings of Science and History, with the purely Ethical spirit, and with the conception of Evolution in all things, ought in our judgment to take the highest rank, and receive the most State patronage and support; while those whose spirit is most antagonistic to the Historical and Scientific spirit and to the conception of Evolution, whose ethical standards are based on a religion of fear and not of love, and who are most filled with awe for tradition, age, and mere authority as such, must take the lowest rank, and be least patronised by the State,—intermediate stages being honoured in proportion. But all this, of course, is only for the foremost nations of the world and for those where the Leaders of Opinion, as we have premised, accepted the teachings of the Evolution of Civilization as their supreme guide; for among the lower races of mankind, in Africa, for example, Mahommedanism is and has proved itself to be a finer engine of progress than any form of Christianity whatever;—so relative are the values even of religions to the age, the country, and the time. Our third and last principle is that to get rid of the influence of mere numbers, State recognition should attend the labours of those Teachers who reflect the opinions of the cultivated and the humane, rather than of those who reflect the opinions of the most ignorant part of the community; of those Preachers who are there to cure men of their delusions, rather than of those who are there merely to mirror and perpetuate them; of those who hold up ethical ideals to be loved and pursued for themselves alone, rather

than of those who preach a Religion of Fear and of a literal Hell fire long since outgrown by humane and intelligent minds. Having then established a series of Educational Institutions from Board School up to University (or rather repaired the gaps in our existing ones), and having so finely graded it that not a foot can be lifted anywhere towards a higher ascent but there will be a step ready to plant it on; having made the Evolution of Civilization at once the keystone of the system and the controlling influence which radiates life and unity through the whole; having besides made proficiency in this Bible, as we have called it, a preliminary to all Civil Service appointments, and (in connection with the knowledge of special subjects) a condition of all appointments in Church or State; and having further given State recognition to all Teaching bodies whatever, Secular or Religious, in proportion as they reflect or embody the principles drawn from this Evolution of Civilization as a whole;—our next concern must be to establish by the side of existing Educational institutions and coincident with them, a parallel series of Technical and Scientific Institutions, graded like them from the workshop of the mechanic to their natural summit in a great Hall or University of Science as the keystone of the whole system—an Institution, we may remark in passing, where may be investigated those Chemical, Electrical, and other Scientific principles and methods necessary to the solution of the great Industrial problems which must ultimately determine the relative progress in wealth and power of the different nations during the Twentieth Century. And parallel with these, again, Schools of Art should be established, graded like the others and culminating in a grand Temple of Art as their pinnacle and summit;—the honours, emoluments, titles, and distinctions of the great Masters who are to occupy these pinnacles, whether in Physical Science, in Invention, in the Civil Service, in the Army, or in the Church, being all equal.

But most important of all is it that this Bible of Civilization

which is to preside over the entire organization and reconstruction of Society should not be fixed and rigid like the old Bibles, should not become a fetish to be clothed and encased in dogmatic sanctity, but should be kept infinitely flexible and adaptable to the progress of knowledge and research, susceptible of infinite modification in detail, or of entire reconstruction if need be, and so gradually brought nearer and nearer to harmony and perfection; and for this purpose the highest honours, rank, and authority should be given to all those concerned in the work, following in this the example of the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages in the esteem in which she held those great Doctors who at intervals of centuries remodelled and reconstructed her vast system of Theology in accordance with the practical needs as well as intellectual necessities of the times. And here perhaps it may not be out of place to remark in connection with this scheme of National Education, that the Bible of Civilization is the only Political Bible that can be adapted as easily to a Despotism as to a Monarchy, to a Monarchy as to a Republic; inasmuch as like some astronomical time-piece with which all local time-pieces are to be harmonised, whether they be Dutch clocks, Geneva levers, or English chronometers, it does not seek to upset or abolish existing forms of government or institutions which are founded on each nation's own peculiar tradition and evolution, but would direct their policy to that outside or ideal point, as it were, which is marked out for them by the general evolution of Civilization. In this way this Bible of Civilization will be in marked contrast to the Utopias or Political Bibles, whether of Rousseau, of the German Socialists, or of the Anarchists, which as dealing with mere abstract ideals—Liberty and Equality and the rest—are necessarily one-sided (and as political ends therefore false), and only to be realised by *destroying* existing institutions root and branch, instead of coalescing with them and building up the future on, by, and through them. And if in this I may seem to have restricted

somewhat the abstract Liberty and Equality of Rousseau, which although the parent of so much evil, has been the life and soul of much of the progressive movement in the Nineteenth Century in France and to a great extent in America; or the Universal Suffrage founded on it, which although it has confounded all politics by enfranchising the negro, nevertheless did personally emancipate him; or again the Laissez-faire which although in England at one time it left things alone so long that, what with gluts in markets and exploitation of the workers, the country was strewn with corpses as on a battle-field, still did free Industry from the trammels of the Middle Ages;—it is because neither in the evolution of the animal world, the world of savage and semi-civilized races of men, nor yet of the foremost civilizations of to-day can we find philosophical or practical support for these abstract political ideals when erected into ends and pursued for themselves alone. What I have proposed, on the contrary, to do for the Twentieth Century by means of the Practical Policy and the scheme of National Education above outlined, is to bring these abstract political utopias back again to their natural function as *means* which having more than done the work required of them in the Nineteenth Century, may now, like old armour, be hung up as memorials in the Twentieth; while the Politics of the Nations are once more brought back to the old lines of normal evolution, with its constant admixture in all places and times of Equality and Authority, of Right and Might, of Liberty and Restraint, of Laissez-faire and organized Control. The problem, in a word, for the Twentieth Century is how to get back from the residuum, if we may call them so, of all the foremost nations, the excess of political influence which they filched from the world in the Nineteenth—stealing into the show like boys under a circus-tent under cover of the uproar raised over Liberty and Equality and the deafening blare of the trumpets announcing and inaugurating everywhere the 'Rights of Man'! And for this we must have some simple self-acting

process by which the effective will be separated from the non-effective citizens, some water-line as it were below which all who fall, after fair chance given them, will be cut off by their own incapacity from political power;—and for this, the policy which I have ventured to foreshadow above, or some other analagous to it, by which the entire society shall be graded into a hierarchy of Political, Social, and Educational Institutions, with easy steps and stages from bottom to top by which all may ascend who choose, would seem to be sufficiently adapted. Three things at least we should expect it to do,—first to cut off the sodden mass of mere humanity or *genus homo* as such, which has overflowed its banks and threatens to swamp the political world, to winnow out from the political field not *classes* of citizens, (for on the heels of such a movement tyranny would at once creep in again), but the *individual* non-effectives who, counted by millions, are now blocking the political machine and giving the political world so much trouble,—here the negroes or the off-scourings of Europe bred in tyranny and reared in ignorance and superstition, with their mediæval vendettas and their low-grade morality of the knife and the dagger; there the tramps, the loafers, the criminal, the vicious, and the submerged generally, whom poverty and starvation have deadened to all responsibility; and everywhere the rabble of the public-house and the street, the miscellaneous ineffectuals who are to be bought and sold in herds for political purposes by whoso chances to pass along—all these by falling below the water-line drawn at a reasonable working grade of intelligence, decency, and morality, would, when the machinery of the above scheme had been perfected, be disfranchised, as it were, by their own act. And yet, were their influence and vote needed to help the working-man to obtain that indispensable minimum, a living wage, sacred and beyond the reach of the accidents of markets or of exploiting *entrepreneurs*, I should consider their full citizenship, in spite of its abuse, essential to the welfare of the State until this supreme object had been achieved. But they

are a broken reed on which to lean, and in every age and time have been the veriest henchmen of Power, of villainy entrenched in high place with money in its hand;—and can be predicted in every country to vote against the interests of the genuine working-man. Them, therefore, he may resign to disfranchisement without a sigh. The second effect of this scheme of reconstruction would be to draw together the effective citizens, as we have called them, who lie above the water-line selected as a fair working test, and to knit them together into a healthy, instructed, and effective public opinion. But the third effect would be more important still. For, as we have seen, the farther Civilization advances, the nearer the curve of its general movement approaches to the Ideal, and the farther it recedes from the dominion of Brute Force. The influence of Women, accordingly, as guardians of this Ideal, must in the order of Nature become more and more pronounced as time goes on, and more and more necessary to the welfare of the State. By the same act, therefore, by which the submerged and non-effective citizens disfranchised themselves, the women whose qualifications have lifted them above this dividing line (especially in the degree to which they have been educated in the political Bible of Civilization), would enfranchise themselves and make their voices heard in the councils both of the Municipality and of the State—the details of the qualifications required, differing in some respects from those required of men, being left to common sense and the expediences of time and place.

But all this of the submerged residuum and its importance in the future of States will come before us more prominently in our next chapter dealing with the Politics of France and America in the Twentieth Century—but especially of America; for I doubt not it was to this submerged residuum that Emerson referred when he cried, "The Masses! the calamity is the Masses. I do not wish any mass at all, but honest men only, lovely, sweet, accomplished women only, and no shovel-handed, narrow-brained, gin-drinking stockingers, or *lazzaroni*

at all. If Government knew how, I should like to see it check not multiply the population. Away with this hurrah of masses, and let us have the considerate vote of single men spoken on their honour and their conscience."

CHAPTER V.

FRANCE—THE PROBLEM.

THE primary object of this work being to exhibit the way in which I conceive the political problems of the Twentieth Century are to be approached from the point of view of Civilization in general, I am desirous for the sake of clearness that the subject should be illustrated from as many different points of view as possible; and accordingly I have thought it necessary to add to my outline sketch of the political and educational reconstruction of England in the Twentieth Century, a parallel sketch dealing with France and America respectively; my aim being mainly to show how different are the principles and methods that have to be applied to countries differing in traditions, institutions, and historical evolution. I am, I trust, not insensible to the severe censure which I should justly incur were I to presume to offer these outline sketches covering so large a field, as either dogmatic or authoritative productions. Nor, indeed, is it necessary for my purpose that they should be put forward as such. For as there is nothing either final or authoritative in my reading of the evolution of Civilization in general or of that of the countries with which I am dealing in particular, so there is nothing authoritative in the schemes of policy which I have ventured to found on it. They are at best but rough preliminary sketches, not finished productions, to be accepted or ignored, amended or altogether rejected, as the

event may turn out. Indeed the only plea I can enter for attempting even thus much, and especially when dealing with foreign countries, is that the methods of political reform which I am about to propose have a somewhat different basis from that on which political reforms usually rested in the Nineteenth Century. The fact that in the middle of that century Carlyle could have found himself almost alone when he ventured to criticise the validity of the current political axioms of Liberty and Equality, Laissez-faire, Universal Suffrage, and the rest, would of itself go far to show that during the greater part of the century Practical Statesmanship was based mainly on a number of abstract political axioms, with a fringe of contingent or debatable principles superadded; the whole being combined into schemes adapted to the circumstances of the time. But during the last quarter of the century most of these political axioms became threadbare, and showing their inner texture were discredited, yet no attempt was made to find a principle which should enable us to separate accurately the truth from the error in them. In the preceding chapters I have ventured to introduce the Evolution of Civilization in general as the test and touchstone wanted; and if I shall prove justified in so doing, the Practical Statesmanship of the Twentieth Century, instead of resting on a combination of so-called political axioms, variously modified by expediency and contingency, must rest on the combination of such parts or aspects only of these axioms as shall be found to hold good when brought before the tribunal of Civilization in general. And it is for this reason mainly that I have ventured on these rough outline sketches. If then I may be permitted a friendly shuffle of the political cards of other nations without the imputation of impertinence, I should be disposed to open the game by laying it down as a political principle, that for a reconstructive policy which shall be at once practical and lasting—and which must therefore take a considerable period of time for its full realisation—the only sure foundation on which to proceed is almost the exact opposite of

that demanded by the immediate necessities of the day or hour; and consists not in squaring recalcitrant parliamentary groups, in convincing potent personalities, or in playing off interests or parties against each other; nor yet in personal efforts of rhetoric or appeal; but rather in combining into a harmonious union, on the one hand, those deep-lying Sentiments and Opinions which often unobtrusive yet are of the most *general* and universally pervasive character, and on the other, the most *general* characteristics of the Material and Social conditions. This method of approaching the problem belongs rather to what may be called the Strategy of Statesmanship than to its Tactics, to use a military distinction; and lays out its plan of campaign according to the most general dispositions of ground, movement, and methods of warfare of the enemy, rather than by temporary makeshifts, or happy snatches of improvisation or inspiration.

In outlining a policy for England in the Twentieth Century, our problem, as we have seen, was a comparatively easy one. For England as a political and social entity is all of a piece as it were, without fissure or division, and in its most *general* sentiments is homogeneous throughout; so that plant a man where you will, instead of being distracted by a multiplicity of warring sentiments or ideals, his path, like the needle, will lead him to the same fixed pole. This, indeed, is what one would expect on a soil where for centuries there has been no mixing of antagonistic races, no conflict of warring creeds, no uprisings bred of tyranny and leaving behind a legacy of hate, no class in chronic antagonism to any other, but all linked together in a long historic evolution; the conflict of Capital and Labour in the Nineteenth Century, however acute and strained at points, leaving only skin-deep scratches on the surface, and showing rather like the temporary disagreements of husband and wife than as feuds leaving abiding hatreds behind them;—as is plainly manifest from this fact alone, that during the most intense period of the Labour struggles, the great mass of the workmen voted as steadily for their Middle

Class employers, to the exclusion of their own Labour leaders, as if the Labour Question had no serious existence. As for the differences between Church and Dissent, although cutting deeply in all purely religious matters, they have not affected in any way the position or authority of the various classes, nor made any rent in the surface of society at large.

There is no doubt something simple and *naïve* in this curious homogeneity and devotion; but a social structure at once so simple, compact, and homogeneous, is almost sure, like individuals of fixed and invariable mental mould, to have considerable limitations, and in the race for life with other nationalities, to require developing on one or other of its neglected sides. England's ideal, as we have seen, is one of Character, with material wealth as its basis, and the 'gentleman' as its representative; and so long as the abundant natural resources of her coal and iron fields, which with her insular position and her consequent commercial advantages have built up her material prosperity, hold out, the old structure of society will continue unbroken. But once other nations with equal natural resources, but who have made intellect, invention, energy, and organizing power their ideal, come seriously into the field, and threaten as they are doing now to draw a cordon around her trade, the ideal of Character and the 'gentleman' alone will not suffice; and unless she add the ideal of Intellect to her ideal of Character she must speedily fall from her lofty estate, like a star; and may soon find herself in the position of Spain, whose dons and hidalgos still stand there on their prerogative of 'gentlemen' while their cloaks grow ever more threadbare in the wind, and their country sinks deeper in ruin and decay; still maintaining their quiet but dignified attitude of contempt for intellect, for labour, and for science.

The problem, therefore, for England in the Twentieth Century is a very simple one, and its solution by means of a finer grading both of Material and Social Conditions and of Education, requires, as we saw, no violent wrench of habits,

feelings, or traditions. But in France, on the contrary, the problem of Statesmanship is infinitely difficult and complex; the factors on which it depends being land-locked and unable to stir by reason of deadly and irreconcilable antagonisms. Its solution, in consequence, will demand not only a much greater length of time, but an entirely different set of instruments and expedients. For if, following the plan we have laid down, we take as the basis of our reconstruction only those most universal sentiments and ideals which pervade the nation at large, we shall find that instead of their blowing in one direction and reinforcing each other as in England, they blow in contrary directions, and in their warring strife so rend each other as to make harmonious action founded on them impossible. These cardinal principles, ideals, or sentiments, are practically reducible to three, forming a kind of triangular antagonism as it were, by which, like animals tied together by their tails, the more any one of them moves in one direction the more the others pull away in the opposite. And when we find besides that each of these sentiments and ideals is entrenched in some organisation or institution co-extensive with France, we see that the difficulties of any immediate solution are insurmountable, and that the problem can only be resolved by the slow and patient operation of opinion and time. Let us take then each of these three factors or elements separately, and examine them in their most general relations to each other, before proceeding to indicate how they are to be dealt with in detail.

The first is the sentiment of Liberty and Equality, which was the religion of the French Revolution and was founded on the Political Bible of Rousseau; the second is the Religion of Catholicism, which has come down from the Middle Ages; and the third is the Military Spirit, which is bound up with the traditions of France and the glories of the First Empire, and which has only been deepened and made more irritable and sensitive by the disasters of the Franco-German war. Now

these are all, it will be observed, in spirit at least, in point-blank antagonism to each other; the Liberty and Equality of the Revolution, with its goddess of Reason, its industrial and secular aims, its methods of Science, and its modern spirit, being in direct antagonism to Catholicism with its Mediæval dogmas and traditions, its monasticism and asceticism, its anti-scientific basis; and both, in essence at least, to the Military Spirit with its inequality and hierarchies of rank, its contempt for Thought as such, and its tendency to gravitate to Despotism. Did each of these sentiments remain in the region of sentiment merely, without material means of defending itself, this mutual opposition might end in a mere play of dialectics, and be without further significance. But each, on the contrary, is entrenched in an organization at once so huge and powerful that their mutual opposition is a standing danger to the State. Let us take, then, each of them separately, and examine them in detail and in connection with the organizations in which they have entrenched themselves.

The sentiment of Liberty and Equality was ground into the souls of Frenchmen by the Revolution, and into those of the millions of peasants of the first generation after it, by the fear and suspicion that the land which they occupied and which the Revolution had confiscated, should be restored to its former owners. To such an extent, indeed, did this fear prevail in the early years of the century, that most of the land thus occupied sold for little more than half its value, until Napoleon obtained from the Pope the assurance that it now rightfully belonged to its existing occupiers. This uncertainty kept the first generation of Frenchmen after the Revolution steady to the Gospel of Equality, and gave this Gospel time to effectually entrench itself within a triple rampart of institutions and laws which have made it practically impregnable to this day. The first was the covering of the greater part of the soil of France with millions of Peasant Proprietors, with holdings most of them of not more than one to five acres in extent; the object

being to make the material and social conditions of these millions so nearly equal, that Inequality could nowhere find a foothold among them. This first line of defence of the Religion of Equality was supported by a second in the shape of a suffrage now practically universal—a potent and ever-present instrument ready at hand for the protection of this Equality when threatened—and this again by a third, expressly designed for the purpose, namely, a Law of Inheritance which compelled equal division of the land at death among the children of these proprietors; so that however much Property might tend to heap itself up in masses in one generation, it would speedily be brought back to the old level by subdivision again in the next. And so well, indeed, did this triple line of defence succeed in its object, that at the present time the soil of France is covered with five millions odd of these peasant proprietors, constituting roughly half of the entire population of France.

But, in passing, it is proper to remark that this sentiment of Equality, so sedulously protected and preserved by the institutions of the Revolution, has had no corresponding influence in keeping alive the sentiment of Liberty with which as a watch-word it is associated. That can only come from racial character or enlightenment; but these swarming millions of peasants, although protected from absolute poverty by their property, are consigned by their occupation to lives as sordid, unprogressive, and embruted by toil, ignorance, and superstition, as those of the Hindoo peasantry or the serfs of the Middle Ages, from whom, indeed, in many ways they are still but little removed. The consequence is that at no period have they been able to keep themselves free from despotism at the hands of the government officials or of the Central Power. So long, indeed, as they have been protected in the possession of their little patches of ground, they have proved passive alike in the hands of the Convention, of Buonaparte, of the Legitimists, of the Orleanists, of the Second Empire, and of the Third Republic; and, as we all remember, would have given them-

selves up to Boulanger without a sigh. But this disregard for Liberty, as compared with Equality, applies also to the Workmen of the cities and towns—although from a different reason. For it is the very essence of all abstract ideals as such, political or other—and of Liberty and Equality as political utopias among the rest—that being by their nature *absolute* they cannot admit of compromise without doing injury to their essential spirit; so that you shall as soon get compromise in a nation broken up into rival political utopias, as in a congress of rival Christian, Jewish, and Mahommedan divines. The working-men of France, unlike those of England, have lived and fed on these abstractions and utopias ever since the Revolution, — on Equality, Communism, Socialism, Labour-time, and the like. The consequence is that nothing is ever attempted to be settled by the ordinary business methods of compromise or give-and-take, but by rhetorical appeals on behalf of their pet utopias: and so in the end by numbers and the appeal to force.

But to see the bearing of all this on our scheme of reconstruction, it is necessary before proceeding to the other two elements and sides of our triangular antagonism — namely Catholicism and the Military Spirit—to determine to what extent this sentiment of Equality is reflected in the Chamber of Deputies and the Central Power. In this connection we must observe that Government as such is essentially an instrument for the extension of ordinary civic business; its excellence consisting in keeping all the material and social interests of a nation so nicely balanced as to produce among them a working harmony, while at the same time so modifying them as to urge them further and further on the road to the goal or ideal of what human society ought to be. Its problem, therefore, is how to keep up a moving equilibrium among all the interests concerned as Society pursues its way onwards and upwards towards a higher civilization. It is, in a word, essentially a matter of the *balancing* and adjusting of material and social interests; and when it touches spiritual things at all it is only on

their material side as institutions,—dealing with endowments, jurisdictions, corporations and so on,—not on their spiritual side. In a healthy state, therefore, the Parliamentary Governments of Modern Times, as in England, represent the larger horizontal divisions of material and social strata;—Land, Capital, Commerce, Manufactures, and all the monopolies having a common bond of interest, forming one party; while Labour in its various forms, and the miscellaneous mass of smaller business occupations lying on a lower social plane, form another; both, again, being crossed and modified in a greater or less degree by the interests of Church and Dissent,—and so on. Government is thus, in its proper and healthy state, but a larger department of Civil business, of solid material and social interests, and must be conducted on the same principles. But in a country like France that has been dominated since the Revolution by a number of abstract political ideals and utopias, Government, instead of representing the business interests, material or social, of the different horizontal strata into which Society is naturally split, represents a number of conflicting *theories* of government, which cut vertically through all the strata—Monarchism, Imperialism, Republicanism, Socialism, Communism,—so that whereas in healthy natural governments like England, you can rely on finding one Party representing mainly the rich, the favoured, the protected, the monopolist interests, material and social, and another representing mainly the poor, the excluded, the disinherited; in countries dominated by utopias and political theories, Government represents rather these theories and utopias than real and solid interests. And accordingly in France we find the Chamber of Deputies composed of at least ten members representing rival theories of Government, to one representing the purely business interests of Commerce or Manufactures, of Land or Labour. The consequence is that Legislation instead of following the play of real material and social forces, mainly follows the balance of utopias. And being abstract, complete, and absolute in their

nature, these utopias are necessarily exclusive of each other, and are incapable of any real or lasting compromise;—the temporary combinations among them dissolving and recombining on the most trivial pretexts;—and thus all government is rendered as unstable and inconstant as the winds. I do not mean by this that France in actual fact has been rendered unprosperous in a material sense by this instability, I mean only that her position, owing to the complexity of her Foreign relations, is at critical periods rendered dangerous, while her action at all times is made unreliable by reason of it. It is largely owing to her prosperity, indeed, that these utopias can continue to exist at all. The country, in point of fact, has few really great material or social grievances to complain of; these having been removed by the Revolution, by the Code Napoléon, and by the constructive statesmanship of the First Empire. The peasantry own their own land, and in their narrow sordid way are independent and free; they are not very heavily taxed—the peasant who paid away four-fifths of the produce of his fields in taxes, rents, and feudal dues before the Revolution, paying after Buonaparte's reforms only one-fifth of it—while the people of the towns are willing to pay increased prices for food, in order that the peasants may be protected by the tariffs on corn. There is a system of School Education at every man's door, by which his children can climb by easy gradations to the highest positions in the State, if only they have the energy, talent, and ambition. He can worship God in his own way and without interference or detriment;—all religions alike, whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Mohammedan, being not only tolerated but actually subsidized by the State. In fact, as I have said, it is owing to this dearth of real grievances among the people, and especially among the peasants, that their Representatives in the Chamber are able to form groups whose main bond of union is one or other of these abstract theories of Government; like schoolboys who, having no material cares to divide them, can in their

debating societies split only on such academic issues as—who is the greatest General, which is the best form of Government, what is the best school of poetry, and the like. But once let Communism, or Socialism of the extreme type, say, grow so rapidly in numbers and influence as to threaten an expropriation of private property or a real revolution in industry, then regular parties would at once arise in the Chamber, representing real and solid interests; and the Group-system, as it is called, founded on dynastic pretensions and abstract ideals of Government, would speedily disappear from the political stage.

But these utopias of the Chamber are kept up not only by the absence of real grievances among the peasantry and people generally, but by the existence of at least one real grievance among the workmen of the cities and towns. Like the workmen in all countries, they too have not reached that ideal of a living wage which is the goal of Industry, and for which the time is already nearly, if not quite, ripe. But instead of trying, like the workmen in England, to get it by strengthening their Trades-Unions, deceived by the fatal legacy of the Revolutionary Period, they hope to get it by the preaching of Communistic or Socialistic dreams,—and so add yet another group of utopists to those already in the Chamber. But the difficulty of getting your just deserts by the preaching of utopias is, as we have said, that they admit of no compromise, no gradation; and not to insist on them in their entirety is felt to be a betrayal of principle. The consequence is that when matters do not turn out rightly, instead of sifting the evidence and giving judgment proportioned to the offence, they proceed, like a street mob, by a general overturn; they approach political difficulties, not by steady pressure exerted against the weak points until they give way, as in ordinary business, but with a rush; not by co-ordinated movements, but by distracted hap-hazard ones; and when they send up a new Representative or appoint a new Minister, they still expect of him a combination of high-sounding phrases and utopias;—their submissiveness

being as great when these phrases are happily turned, as their rebellion is when they are discordant. Indeed one may lay it down as a principle, true for any country or occasion, that given a number of rival abstract political utopists, you have only to confine them in an enclosed space as in a rat-pit where they cannot get away from each other, and they not only may, but by their very nature must, if time be given and no outside authority interfere, fight till one or other is annihilated. There can be no compromise. It was so in France at the Revolution as between Mountain and Girondin, and it is so still. So that had she no other warring sentiments to distract her and bring her to an *impasse*, the existence of a Chamber of Deputies made up of rival groups, representing not material and social interests but abstract ideals and theories of Government, would keep up endless turmoil, and be to her a standing danger.

But now to return to the two other sides of the triangular antagonism of which we have spoken, and which, as it is impossible for them to unite with Liberty and Equality to form a stable self-contained unity, so rend and distract the minds of Frenchmen by their mutual antagonism as to make unanimity or harmony of effort in any direction whatever impossible. These are Catholicism and the Military Spirit. Let us first consider Catholicism.

The first observation I would make bearing on Catholicism is this, that these swarming millions of from one to five or ten acre peasants constituting half of the entire population of France, who are kept in an enforced social equality by laws and institutions specially devised by the Revolution for the purpose,—the great majority of these, though honest and worthy souls, are too sordid, superstitious, and embruted with toil, to be reached by the Modern Spirit, and are unable to find anywhere in the religion of Rousseau or in the sacred phrases of the Revolution, with its Materialism, Atheism, or at best barren philosophical Theism, anything capable of giving support to their moral sense, of appeasing their consciousness of sin, or of

directing their lives; anything by which to train their sons and daughters in habits of virtue and respectability; anything on which to lean in the hour of sickness or on the approach of death. The active spirits to whom they are accustomed to look for guidance in their worldly affairs,—the local doctor, lawyer, or schoolmaster,—most of whom have had some contact with the advanced thought of the day at school or college, are sceptics or indifferent, if not avowed atheists, almost to a man, and can furnish but little guidance, comfort, or consolation for the inner troubles of the heart. There are practically no Protestant ministers at hand to make a good life and the exercise of simple faith a passport to the comforts and consolations which Religion affords. The primary schools, too, are purely secular in character; and their masters, birds of passage, sceptical in spirit largely, and with careers depending on the progress of their pupils in purely secular education; and so have little or no concern with either the morals or religion of the children under their charge. And even were there any system of purely moral instruction apart from Religion to be found, it would have little effect on the mind of youth. For mere ethical teaching apart from Religion can be the food only of grown men,—and of these, of only the high and ideal spirits given to the contemplation of the world and of human life; but on it the poor, the ignorant, and the superstitious must starve. To be efficacious for Conduct, the exhortations to morality must everywhere, among the great masses of men at least, be bound up with some definite religion, with its consolations, its specific promises and deterrents of hope and fear; but in France there is practically no religion but Catholicism. And accordingly, when the Republic in its conflict with Catholicism forbade the Catholic Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods to teach in the primary schools, and made the whole system a purely secular one under lay teachers, the peasants and people of the villages, to the extent of almost half of their entire number, not only set up schools of their own under these

Catholic Brothers and Sisters, but were prepared to pay for them in addition to paying for the National Schools from which their children had been withdrawn. And the consequence is that however indifferent the parents may be to Catholicism as a religious and philosophical system, they are obliged in order to get the moral teaching and religious consolation they require, to take with it the entire system of Catholicism—with its dogmas, rites, and ceremonies, its dislike of Protestants and Jews, its hatred of Science and the Modern Spirit, and its still greater hatred of Republicanism and all its works, which, as framed on the Bible of Rousseau and the Encyclopedia, are in direct antagonism to Catholicism. But the nation has gone farther. It has allowed the Church to set up Secondary Schools and Colleges in opposition to the National secondary schools and Colleges and in competition with them, for the higher education of young men in that secular knowledge which is indispensable to their future careers both in the Army and in the professions of civil life. And, accordingly, to these colleges continue more and more to flock the sons of all those of the higher classes who are secretly or openly hostile to the Republic—old families of Legitimist, Orleanist, or Buonapartist sympathies who lost their position and power on the fall of these several *régimes;* families with Army traditions, always naturally hostile to democratic *régimes* of Liberty and Equality; descendants of the Old Nobility whose estates the Revolution confiscated; the countless possessors of counterfeit titles; and the vulgar rich who like to be identified in political sentiment with their social superiors;—all in a word whose personal interest inclines them to a change of *régime.* Is it to be wondered at, then, that the Catholic Church with the boundless wealth of her Brotherhoods, derived from the free contributions of the faithful, should seize the opportunity thus offered her (to embrace which she is indeed implicitly invited) to instil into that part of the youth of France which from its wealth and position must play a leading part in the future, a

hatred of the Republic and all its institutions, and so should undermine in one half of the population what the Republic is striving to build up in the other; and that the Religion of Catholicism and the Religion of Rousseau should still be, as they have been from the beginning, deadly and irreconcilable enemies? I am aware of course that the Catholic Bishops are appointed by the Government, that they have absolute authority over the careers and fortunes of the clergy under their charge, and that they are obliged both in speech and action to keep themselves within the limits of the law. But it is to be remembered that from being Gallican, as it were, under all the *régimes* since the Revolution, and indeed largely so before it, the clergy have become Ultramontane, owing to the persecutions of the Republic (brought on, it is true, largely by their own intrigues), and take their cue from the secret sympathies, if not from the express orders, of the Vatican; and so, in the nature of things, must be forever in opposition to a *régime* which has graded its entire system of education on a purely secular basis, and has opened all its careers and promotions to proficiency in a kind of knowledge which the more it extends, the more fatal must be its influence on the spirit of Catholicism.

If then the French Republic with a set of institutions founded on the Political Bible of Rousseau and the Encyclopedists, with its devotion to Secular Education, to Science, and to an abstract Political Ideal, must forever meet with antagonism from the Catholic Church, with her ascetic and Mediæval spirit, her suspicion of Physical Science, and her devotion to an alien authority seated in the Vatican;—if these two sets of influences, sentiments, and institutions, which are equally strong and universal, must from their very nature pull the minds of Frenchmen in opposite directions, the discord is made worse and the *impasse* rendered more complete by that great and all-pervasive influence which with its immense power and organization forms the third side or aspect of our triangular antagonism, namely the Military Spirit.

This Militarism which is bound up with the entire history of France, and which has been only deepened and rendered more sensitive by her reverses, is as much a religion with Frenchmen as either Catholicism or Liberty and Equality; and by its very nature blows steadily, in the minds of its Chiefs at least, in the direction of Inequality and Imperialism, and against all forms of Equality, Democracy or Republicanism whatever; accepting these latter, indeed, only as makeshifts, in the absence of any single personality around which all may rally and unite. For, like all the other institutions of France, the Army is divided into groups which split on the question of rival theories of Government—on Republicanism, Orleanism, Buonapartism—a division which, unless the event of war throws up a military genius like Buonaparte, must preclude all unanimity in the choice of its supreme head, and so compel it to sullenly accept whatever *régime* is thrust upon it by the civil population. As regards the relation of Catholicism to a Militarism which is essentially worldly in spirit, we should naturally suppose that like all other forms of Christianity it would be in essence antagonistic; but historically and actually this has not been the case, as, especially since the Middle Ages, they have always like the sun and moon divided the spheres of the spiritual and the temporal between them; and the spiritual authority of the priest has always been ready to approve and bless the sword of the warrior. But it is only when they are both in antagonism to the ruling *régime* that they can form, it is to be observed, a real and vital union. When they are both in the ascendant they soon begin to pull their skirts apart in jealousy of each other's powers; and only the most solemn and binding contracts in the shape of Concordats can at such times prevent them from falling into open rupture.

Thus, then, we have in France three antagonistic sentiments each equally deep and pervasive, and each entrenched in an elaborate and powerful organization for defence;—sentiments which it is possible to keep quietly side by side in a kind of

armed neutrality when the political sea is calm, but which on the slightest breeze arising are roused to an attitude of active hostility to each other. For when the sentiment of Equality, for example, becomes active and zealous in its efforts to realise itself in material and social conditions consonant with its spirit, whether political, educational, or social, Catholicism draws away from it in antagonism; Militarism looking on, perhaps, suspicious and cold. When Catholicism, again, gives sign of renewed activity, either in trying to get the education of youth into its own hands, or in piling up wealth in its Brotherhoods from the contributions of the faithful, Equality, always deeply suspicious of the attitude of the Church to itself, awakens and bristles with animosity, and at once proceeds to dismantle the institutions which Catholicism has laboriously erected. Or when Militarism, always irritable and excitable by reason of the strength and proximity of the enemy on the frontier, grows restive under some wave of passing emotion—a prancing Boulanger on his white steed or what not—with Catholicism actively or passively abetting her, Equality and the Spirit of the Revolution shriek in terror, Ministers of State pack their portfolios, and prepare at a moment's notice to cross the frontier, as they see in imagination another weary and ineffectual round of Military Despotism breathing destruction on the institutions planted by the Revolution and watered by the sweat and blood of France;—the only passive witnesses of it all being those millions of peasants in their one to five-acre fields from whom the conscripts are most largely recruited, (and who in consequence must be more or less protected, although mentally enslaved, under every *régime*) to whom a change of *personnel* can be little more than a change of masters, better or worse.

In the next chapter I shall endeavour to roughly outline a scheme of reconstructive policy for France intended to meet these evils, and founded on the Evolution of Civilization in general and of France in particular.

CHAPTER VI.

FRANCE—RECONSTRUCTION.

THE problem then of Practical Statesmanship for the Twentieth Century in France is how to so modify or influence one or other of these discordant and irreconcilable factors as to make them work harmoniously together in the direction of advancing Civilization, and without the danger of reaction. In England, as we saw, there is so little of this antagonism, the sentiments of the people are so homogeneous, that the problem is a comparatively simple one; its solution consisting in the bridging of the wide gaps dividing the different classes of the people, by a more minute grading of their Material and Social Conditions, whereby by making Intelligence the *means* of rising in the scale, the ideal of Intelligence which is so needed to maintain our Industrial position in the world, is added to the ideal of Character which is the outcome of the nation's history and traditions. But this method of solving the problem from the side of the Material and Social Conditions would be quite impossible with France. To see this, let us take in turn the three varieties of Material and Social Conditions which correspond to the three irreconcilable elements in French Society, and see what can be made of them from that side;—the elements, namely, of Abstract Liberty and Equality resting on the workmen of the towns and the five or six millions of peasant proprietors

with their few acres each of ground in the country; Catholicism with its network of bishops, priests, and religious corporations covering the face of the land, and united into an organized hierarchy more compact and indissoluble than any the world has seen; and the Military Spirit backed by Patriotism, the Conscription, and all the able-bodied young blood of France.

Premising then that the end of all Statesmanship, indeed its eternal difficulty, is to fully secure and protect the interests of the great masses of men, while ensuring that government shall be in the hands of the most able, cultivated, and powerful, (limited suffrages tending to corruption and oppression, and universal ones to instability, word-mongering, and illusion), let us take the sentiment of Equality rooted in the five or six millions of peasants of France moving over the landscape like beasts of burden, and in the proportion only, say, of fifty to one possessing sufficient acres to be compatible with leisure, intelligence, and a free outlook on life. If we take these millions of petty proprietors, and endeavour by reducing their number to so grade the entire country that it shall form a natural pyramid and hierarchy of agricultural interests, from a certain number of these small holdings round the base, up through larger holdings to a comparatively few great landlords at the top, and all acting as a natural balance and antagonism to the political instability of the towns; should an attempt, I say, be made to do this openly and directly by laws to that effect, half the population of France would be in revolt. Should we attempt, on the contrary, to do it indirectly and circuitously by first limiting the franchise, the collateral result of so doing, in the *present* state of opinion, would be that the government would be captured either by the Reactionaries, by Catholicism, or by one or other form of Military Despotism; —and that, too, in an age that demands Science, not Mediævalism; Democracy, not Privilege; a *régime* of peace and law, and not of unrest and tyranny. In England, where there are too many large landowners and too few peasant proprietors

to be compatible with the interests of a healthy State, the grading of the agricultural pyramid by planting a number of small holdings around its base would be a comparatively easy matter, and would meet with little or no resistance provided fair compensation were given; but to drag these millions of French peasants scratching the ground with their hoes, from their adhesion to the soil, compensation or no compensation, would be impossible either by Legislation or by Force. And if we thus fail to get our pyramid of gradated properties from the point of view of the peasant proprietor at the bottom, we shall fare no better if we attempt it from the great landlords at the top. For here again the contrast with England is most marked. In England, the proprietors of the greater landed estates are regarded by all classes, whether in town or country, with admiration and esteem; they reside on their estates, and administer the local affairs of the counties as well as representing them in Parliament, with the consent and approbation of all; and were the country divided up to-morrow into freeholds, and peopled with peasant proprietors enough to swamp the elections by their votes, the result would be the same. But in France the old landlords are regarded with distrust and suspicion by the peasants, and when they reside on their estates it is amid an alien population hostile both in tradition and feeling, and so the entire country districts of France are left without their natural leaders; the Chamber of Deputies, unlike the House of Commons, being filled with local lawyers, doctors or schoolmasters, who (there being few real class grievances of the peasants to represent), are given up mainly to personalities or utopias.

But if we cannot by any device alter the material and social condition of country life in France so as to get the elements of a stable and progressive State, perhaps it may be possible to get these by altering the material and social conditions of the towns. But here the difficulty arises from the Workmen, who, unlike the peasants, are devoured by the utopias of

Communism, 'labour-time' Socialism, and the rest, and are incapable of uniting on any ground of common business with the Masters on any terms; and, indeed, must continue to be so until they get that minimum indispensable, a living wage; although if they continue to try to get it as they are now doing, by preaching Communism or 'labour-time' Socialism instead of by strengthening their Trades Unions, they are likely to have to wait an indefinite period for its realisation.

Or, again, perhaps the decentralization of the Adminstrative machine which is the favourite scheme of the Radical group, may help us to a remedy. On the contrary, in a country where Legislation is based, not on the free play of parties representing solid interests, but on groups representing opposite dynastic interests and theories of government, this well-knit machine of Centralised Administration, which stretches its iron tentacles to the extremities of France, which is obedient to a single will at the centre, and which acts with the rapidity of thought, is the sole defence of the country against political, administrative, and social anarchy. If dissolved to-morrow, it would be replaced in the thirty-six thousand parishes of France by little local vestrymen, repeating on a small scale the distraction of the Chamber of Deputies, and quarrelling over rival theories of government or dynastic pretensions, without compromise or measure; thus making impossible not only all unity of action (so necessary in a nation which, although not organized exclusively for war, must be prepared at a moment's notice for it), but all the ordinary and necessary business of the State. These thirty-six thousand separate parishes were the real ultimate governing authorities in France during and after the Revolution, and nothing could be done without their consent. They wanted to remain isolated, and had little or no interest in anything beyond their own parish borders. Made more or less bankrupt by the Revolution, they would not pay their taxes; the soldiers raised by them would not do their duty; each parish tried to shift both taxes and military burdens on to its

neighbours, and there was no authority above themselves to compel obedience. The calls of the Convention and of the Committee of Public Safety for men and money were promptly responded to, it is true, but not from compulsion; it was from patriotism rather and the burning enthusiasm generated by the Revolution. And accordingly, when this revolutionary fervour subsided after the death of Robespierre, these parishes would neither pay their share of taxes nor of men to carry on the war; the Directory, taking advantage of the situation, became, by the sale of exemptions, a hotbed of corruption; and it was not until Buonaparte appeared upon the scene, turned the Directory out of doors, took away the power of the parishes, and established the present system of Centralized Administration, that the country was restored to peace and order again. To return to the self-government of the commune or parish, therefore, would be to return to the old anarchy, and is not to be entertained.

If no alteration of the Material and Social Conditions and institutions founded either on the Religion of Equality or on the necessities of despotic rule can release the Politics of France from the *impasse* in which they are held, let us now enquire whether they can be released by any scheme founded on Militarism and the Military Spirit. To begin with, I am bound to confess that were there any real danger of foreign invasion, this would seem to be not only the most politic but the simplest of all schemes of reconstruction for France. The machinery for it, constructed by Buonaparte as well for his own personal aggrandisement as for the national defence, still remains nearly as he left it, and with but a minimum of alteration here and there could be fitted for the same purpose again to-morrow. With a Concordat giving Catholicism a monopoly of Education, the Church would cordially co-operate; and all the change that would be necessary in the existing school and college system would be the installing everywhere of teachers in sympathy at once with Catholicism and the ruling Military *régime*. A *régime* of this nature, too, would satisfy one entire

side of the French national sentiment, namely that of Patriotism and Military prestige; and would meet with little opposition either from the millions of peasants who while protected in their little properties, are indifferent,—as was seen in their support of the Second Empire—or from the workmen in the towns, as was proved by their reception of Boulanger. It would give a prestige to France both at home and abroad to which she is unable to attain under a Republic, with its bourgeois Presidents and its Chamber of country solicitors, doctors, and journalists; and were a great war imminent into which France would be drawn with or against her will, it would be her best and most immediately pressing policy to establish it. But as things are at present, a military *régime* would have to encounter insuperable difficulties. To begin with, unless as the result of a successful war waged on a great scale and giving commanding authority to some favourite general, the jealousies of Buonapartists, Orleanists, and Republicans would effectually prevent all unanimity of choice in the Army; and a want of unanimity in a country with no hereditary sovereign would be the forerunner of chaos or civil war. And even were this got over by compromise, the Chamber of Deputies would have to be packed with Government nominees; with as result corruption, inefficiency, despotism, and a retrogression in all the ideals of advancing Civilization—of Industry, Culture, Science, and Peace;—the Army of the Republic as the servant of the Civil Power and not its master, being quite sufficient for all the probable necessities of France. Besides, a military *régime* once permanently established would in times of peace be attacked and undermined by the Spirit of the Revolution;—by Equality, offended at the hierarchy and at the presumption of Militarism; by the Socialists of the towns as increasing their burdens without alleviating their lot or realising their dreams; and by the Culture of the cities, as at once reactionary and detrimental to the standing interests of civilization.

If then neither institutions founded on the sentiment of Liberty and Equality of the Revolution, nor a Military Régime after the pattern of the Buonapartes is now possible as an enduring *régime* in France, it is scarcely worth while enquiring whether a stable and enduring government could be founded on the third of our active but antagonistic factors, namely Catholicism. For as it would have to ally itself with some form of Temporal Power other than the Republic, the deadly antagonism of the Spirit of the Revolution to the Spirit of Catholicism would make its success as impossible as a return to the Middle Ages.

If then by no alteration of the Material and Social Conditions of French life can its three aspects or sides, of Rousseauism, Militarism, and Catholicism, be made to unite into a pyramid of solid and enduring masonry; but if, on the contrary, they begin to pull apart the moment any one of them begins to stir, how do we suggest that the problem of Practical Statesmanship for France for the Twentieth Century is to be approached with any hope of an ultimate solution?

To begin with, we may fairly lay down two propositions as deductions from the foregoing discussion. The first is that under the most favourable conjunction of circumstances, the reconstruction of France on a satisfactory basis must be a work involving a great length of time, possibly the whole century; and secondly that as it cannot be approached with any hope of success from the side of the *Material and Social Conditions* of the country by any re-arrangement or combination of these conditions, it must be approached primarily from the *Mental* side—from the side of Thought and the beliefs and opinions of men. In this respect it is an exact antithesis to England, where, as we saw, the evolution of the country has deviated so little from its old historical lines, that all that is necessary to continue it in a healthy and normal progress is a finer grading of the Material and Social Conditions in town and country;—the intellectual changes, the changes in opinion

and belief, although of great, being nevertheless of subordinate importance. But in France, the overturn of all historical landmarks by the Revolution had the effect of dividing the world of Thought into two irreconcilable camps,—that of Catholicism and that of Rousseauism,—and so, in the absence of any possibility of reconstruction from the Material side, has made Intellectual reconstruction of primary importance.

In what, then, it will be asked, is this Intellectual Reconstruction to consist? Now as there can be only one and the same intellectual scheme for all advanced nations, the reader will already have divined in what we believe it to consist,—namely the making of the Evolution of Civilization in general and of France in particular the Political Bible of the nation, on which and in adaptation to which as keystone, the entire system of National Education is to be graded and harmonised. Fortunately the educational machinery for this purpose is already prepared and waiting, in the admirable and gradated system of primary and secondary schools and colleges with which France is supplied. Let us then examine this system historically somewhat in detail, as a preliminary to indicating the changes by which we propose to transform it and to render it effective for the uses to which we would put it in the Twentieth Century.

This educational system was constructed by Buonaparte for his own purposes, much in the form in which it at present stands. All the schools and colleges in France were deliberately arranged and graded to his military system as to a Political Bible, with himself as Political Pope at the top; the teachers—his 'lay Jesuits' as he called them—being brought up like monks in strict seclusion, and taking a vow of devotion and obedience to himself, as the Jesuits do to Rome. The pupils, too, were educated like monks in barrack-like structures under the sternest discipline, and were taught by their masters to regard military glory as at once the highest virtue and object of ambition, and the Emperor himself as their ideal of

greatness. Instead of asceticism and prayers, they had to march to tap of drum, clad in uniforms and gold lace, presenting arms in military fashion; and were taught to recite a kind of prayer for the life of the Emperor as the good genius of France. But fearing lest the rubbing of mind with mind might give rise to reflections, and so cast some shadow on his divinity, instead of founding Universities where all kinds of knowledge should be freely interchanged and compared, he instituted colleges for the special practical professions of Law, Medicine, Divinity, Architecture, Engineering, Art, Science, and so on; the professors of History in particular being carefully muzzled; and lest anything should fall from the Press detrimental to his authority, he established a rigid censorship over all departments of Literature, over the Drama, the News of the Day, and indeed over all the printing and publishing of the time.

The end being given, namely the deification of himself as Emperor, Lawgiver, and Conqueror, and of his career and action as the Political Bible of France, this system of Education graded from bottom to top by easy stages, with promotion at each stage according to capacity and merit, with titles, income, decorations, prestige, and position awaiting in after life all those who could climb to the highest rungs of the ladder;—all this, with a gag on opinion at each and every stage, was admirably adapted to the end in view. The Catholic Church, meantime, had been 'squared' by the Concrodat with the Pope, and adapted to the existing *régime;* but to make sure of the rank and file of the Clergy he carefully excluded them from all secular teaching except in the primary schools where their services were confined to the three R's alone; the higher schools and colleges being officered, as we have said, by lay teachers specially taught for the purpose and trained in habits of thought favourable to the existing *régime.*

Nothing, perhaps, can more fully demonstrate the extent to which France is dominated by abstract theories than that this

system of Education which was constructed by Buonaparte for his own purposes, should instead of being dismantled when the purpose for which it was created had passed away, still remain much in the same state as he left it, although the aim and end of education is now quite changed. Why should half the youth of France, whom he herded together like monks in barrack-like schools in order to keep them from the corroding opinions of the world outside until they had been indoctrinated into the belief in himself alone,—why should they be still herded there in batches, to the number often of from three to eight hundred boarders in one establishment, and be drilled with military precision into mechanical regularity, with no free and open family life, and no opportunity of knowing the world in which they are to live and act? Do Frenchmen of the present day imagine that if Buonaparte's aims had been theirs, he would have permitted this stultifying of all healthy natural education? Or if so, would he have allowed the Catholic Church whose teachers he took care to confine to the three R's, to set up opposition schools with pupils daily increasing in numbers, until now they number almost as many as in the State Schools,—and so to undo for one half of France the work he was so laboriously striving to do for the other? Or again, because Buonaparte was afraid of Universities of general culture where men of every condition meet together to make mutual exchange of their knowledge; because he was afraid that the youth of these Universities might compare notes and come to conclusions undermining his own authority, and therefore confined them in separate colleges, and to the purely technical and professional subjects of Law, Medicine, Engineering, and the rest;—why should the Republic still stick to these cramming colleges of mere technicality, with general knowledge thrown in only as a kind of extra stuffing, so that at the end of their curriculum the students have neither a knowledge of the world and of life, nor yet in many cases even a practical knowledge of the subjects professed. Would Buonaparte himself

with his penetration and contempt for abstract utopias have done this? Assuredly not.

How then, it will be asked, do we propose to alter this National System of Education for France so as to make it the primary factor in our political reconstruction of the nation in the Twentieth Century? The reader will already have anticipated. Instead of grading the school and college system of France to a Buonapartism as its National Bible, or to a confused and inconsistent Rousseauism, we would grade it to the Evolution of Civilization in general and of France in particular, as the summit and topmost story of an edifice to which all the rest is but ladder and scaffolding. Fortunately the existing system of Education lends itself easily to this reconstruction: for it has all the indispensable pre-requisites, namely a complete and easy grading from the primary schools through the secondary schools up to the technical colleges for professional and scientific subjects; every facility being given to the humblest to ascend as high as his abilities will carry him;—and all so arranged that promotion goes by merit alone. To complete this edifice on the lines of the Evolution of Civilization, three things mainly are required. In the first place, above the separate colleges for technical instruction in Law, Medicine, Military Science, Engineering, Architecture, and the rest, must be placed Universities in the proper sense of that term, in which all special forms of knowledge would be brought together to find their proper place in reference to the Evolution of Civilization as a whole. In the second place, proficiency in the knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization as a whole as the most wide and inclusive form of all knowledge, as well as in the historical evolution of France in particular, must be made the preliminary test for all posts in the public service, and (in connection with special technical knowledge) for all promotions to higher appointments. And as a third essential, the pupils of the secondary schools and colleges must be released from their barrack-like imprisonment in herds, and be dispersed

among the population—as at English, German, and American schools,—there to gain a knowledge of the world and to lead a healthy family life among teachers and friends; Athletics, which are overdone in England, being gradually made by means of prizes or other inducements, a school of the manly virtues, and dividing the interests of the pupils with their other studies. But to effect all this, it is indispensable of course as a preliminary, that the Press and the Leaders of Opinion in all the great departments of thought and life should be made to see that the time has come when the Evolution of Civilization in general and of their own country in particular is the only true National Bible. Indeed only on this presumption can any of the suggestions I have ventured to put forward have more than a purely speculative or literary interest. But this once laid to heart by the best minds, and preached abroad by a Press and a body of writers at once the most cultured, the most apprehensive, and the most influential in the world, the triangular *impasse* created by Rousseauism, Catholicism, and Militarism,—and which cannot be unlocked by any alterations in the Material and Social Conditions of France,—would begin at once to resolve. It is the central point from which alone the position can be commanded; and the process once begun, the dissolving difficulties would help to release each other with but a minimum of alteration in existing laws. Let us take these difficulties and obstructions in detail, and see the order and manner in which this would occur.

In the first place, an education in the Evolution of Civilization at large would forever destroy those utopias and dreams of ideal forms of government that have haunted the minds of Frenchmen since the Revolution, and have kept them in a perpetual turmoil;—not only the original Liberty and Equality of Rousseau, but those modern extensions of it in Communism and Socialism which help to form one side of the triangular antagonism which we have just described. It would do away

with all these, as we saw in a former chapter, by exhibiting the precise and definite rôle they have played in Civilization; and by showing how they arose and exhibiting the circumstances that called them forth, would enable the observer to get a full and free look at them, not through a slit in the door as it were, but all along the line of their development from the time they first emerged. They would then be seen to be not political ends at all, but urgent temporary means only, which have already practically served their turn, and effected most, if not all, of what was expected of them. They have given the peasants their little properties, the workmen their votes; and if the latter have not yet secured that 'living wage' which is the goal of their efforts, they have only to strengthen their Trade-Unions, as in England. The Evolution of Civilization, again, would show them that the doctrine of 'Labour-time' is a chimera;—all the great work of the world having been done by the few, by the inventive, the original, the energetic, the organizing spirits;—while at the same time it would encourage rather than retard the application of Collectivism to all those municipal and even State undertakings where it can be shown to be best adapted in the ordinary business way.

By the wind of the same stroke, again, given it time to be absorbed and digested by the mind, a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization would destroy the Group-system in the Chamber of Deputies;—most of the groups as we have seen being there to represent theories of government, utopias, and dynastic pretensions, rather than solid business interests; abstract ideals, rather than present necessities and realities; metaphysical rights, rather than public expediency.

It would also destroy the whole body of Legitimist, Orleanist, and Buonapartist parasites who have accumulated strata on strata since the Revolution, and who have a merely selfish interest in changes of government that would restore them to office or power. All these unworthy elements the Evolution of Civilization would shear away, when once it was

seen from history that no form of Government has any necessary validity outside and beyond the time, place, and environment in which it grew and flourished; and that the longer the time that has elapsed since a form of Government was a normal product adapted to the times, the less likely is it to be adapted to the world of to-day—especially if any great organic changes have taken place in the structure of society in the interim, whether in material and social conditions or in matters of opinion and belief. A collateral effect, again, of this system of Education would be, as we have said, to release the youth of France from the barrack-like Boarding Schools in which Buonaparte confined them, and to distribute them among the teachers and citizens, introducing them, as in England, Germany, and America, to the home-life of the people and to the ordinary ways of the world, and turning them into the fields for more athletics and less cram;—all this it would do by shewing that in the history of the world, success, like life itself, is, as Emerson says, a mixture of power and form, of brain and muscle, of the physical and the mental, and will bear no excess of either.

But the standing obstacle to the acceptance of the Evolution of Civilization as the Political Bible for the Twentieth Century by the great mass of Frenchmen (in the same sense, that is to say, as Rousseau's Social Contract was accepted as the Bible of the Nineteenth), is the Catholic Church, which still stands there fixed, immovable, colossal, overlooking the modern world like the Pyramids; the sole relic, still majestic in her decay, of a mediæval world now almost quite departed; but active, all-knowing, all-penetrating as in her prime, and equipped both for offence and defence with every modern weapon. Panoplied in complete steel as to her organization, and stoically indifferent alike to Time and the Time-Spirit, she is nevertheless soft within, whispering gently to the ear and heart, ever ready with comfort and consolation in distress; and insensible alike to pestilence and persecution, ever standing,

blessed sacrament in hand, at the portals of death to let the weary pass. In doctrine, too, as in organization, complete, selfsubsistent, and not to be shaken, in the minds of those who have once accepted her teaching, by any form of secular knowledge whatever, she is impenetrable alike to all deductions or conclusions to her detriment, whether drawn from Physical Science or from History. It may be true that only two millions out of forty millions of professed Catholics in France communicate at Easter to-day, to twelve millions fifty years ago, and that four out of every five of these are women; it may be true, too, that the workmen in the towns and their representatives in the Chamber are sceptical, indifferent, or even openly scoffers and blasphemers,—but that is not enough. Nor is it enough that the higher culture of France is as indifferent to the Church and her teachings as are the Protestants of other lands. All this is not enough;—what signifies is that the swarming millions of peasants, who are as much bound to the soil as the serfs of the Middle Ages and are as inaccessible to Science and Ideas as the Chinese, must and will have the ministrations of their Church in their hours of trouble and at the approach of death; must and will have her brotherhoods and sisterhoods to inculcate morality to their children; and, in consequence, must take with that morality the entire spirit and teaching of Catholicism, religious, political, and social—a spirit and teaching which are antagonistic at once to the Gospel of Liberty and Equality, to the Republic, to the Modern Spirit, to Science, to Thought, to all except implicit assent and faith. Nor is this all. For what the Church may have lost in communicants she has gained in unity and concentration of political power. Before the Revolution the bishops were, with few exceptions, noblemen all, and shared the aims, the pursuits, the prejudices of the class to which they belonged. They were devoted to the throne and to the person of the King, and being mainly Gallican in spirit, resented any interference in State affairs from Rome. They had less

authority, too, over their clergy, nine-tenths of whom were irremovable; their power was limited by the parliaments of the provinces, the owners of estates, local authorities, permanent patrons, and the like; while the Abbots and Priors were quite independent of them. But Buonaparte, determined to have the whole Church march in secular affairs at his bidding, gave the Bishops whom he appointed to their dioceses, absolute authority over the forty thousand priests of France, nine-tenths of whom they can still appoint, transfer, degrade, or discharge at their own will and pleasure. And as these priests, owing to their liability to dismissal, their poverty, and their want of promotion, are drawn mainly from the peasants and the lower class of artizans, and are educated from the age of twelve in the strictest seclusion, in the strictest Catholicism, and in the strictest and most unreflecting habits of obedience and discipline; it is evident that the Church, with this army of priests ready to march at the word of the Bishops, although she may have lost communicants, has vastly gained in political organization, concentration, and power, and when persecuted can strike with deadly effect. It is true that the Bishops are still appointed by the Government of the day, and that they have to keep themselves formally loyal to the Republic in their public utterances; still, as Rome must forever be hostile in spirit to the principles of a Secularist Republic, we have in the Church and the religious Brotherhoods a secret foe to the Republic in every household in France to which they have admittance. And when we remember that since they have been allowed the power they have attracted to their schools a large part of the youth of France, we may well exclaim with Gambetta, 'Clericalism, that is the enemy!' And the situation, too, is made more perplexing and more hopeless by the fact that no moral blame can attach to them for it. For this religion of Catholicism, with its mediæval doctrines and its antagonism to intellectualism and the Modern Spirit, is held not only by its bishops and

priests, but by all those who have formally accepted its teaching, with the absoluteness which comes at once from the most ignorant credulity and the most enlightened conviction, an absoluteness which excludes all other knowledge and belief as of inferior order and authority; the assent which is yielded to it, unlike that which is given to ordinary convictions, being, as Newman says, not *proportioned* to the evidence in its favour, but absolute and entire, partaking of the nature of *faith* in a sense that not only does not attach to our ordinary beliefs, but to any form of Protestantism. It may be true after all, and we of the Modern Spirit quite wrong, but so long as its organization remains, and with its vast wealth retains its hold on school and college education,—what with the devotion it inspires, the consolation it gives, the noble souls and the great intellects that are never wanting in its service,—it is the standing obstacle to the stability of the Republic in France. All the rest, all the political utopias and abstract ideals of Liberty and Equality, Socialism, Communism, and so on, a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization would, in the course of a generation, reduce to their true proportions and to their proper function, as means only for the attainment of certain political ends; but this of Catholicism would seem to demand ages rather than the generations of mortal life. Leaving it standing, then, still majestic, colossal, and all-powerful, though in intellectual decay, to be slowly dissolved by time and a better understanding of the part it has played in the evolution of the world,—what in the meantime is to be done? Two things mainly; first to make a knowledge of the Evolution of Civilization, as we have already explained, the test preliminary examination for all offices in the State, for all promotions, and for entrance into all the liberal professions (instead of the ordinary book-learning, Classics, Mathematics, Science, Metaphysics, and the rest); and, secondly, to confine the Clergy and Brotherhoods (although the necessity is a painful one), to their purely parochial functions, either by suppressing all

Church Schools devoted to aught but the education of their own priests, or by excluding from the higher public offices those brought up in these schools.

To sum up then we may say, that by beginning our reconstruction of France for the Twentieth Century from the side of Opinion and Belief, rather than from the side of the Material and Social Conditions of the country, we should accomplish the following results in the work of releasing France from the triangular *impasse* in which she finds herself. In the first place, we should set the minds of men free from the political utopias and fetishes in which they have been immersed and by which they have been subdued since the French Revolution. In the second place, we should destroy the 'group-system' of representation in the Chamber, by showing that what is wanted is a representation founded on solid and practical, material and business interests. In the third place, we should free the youth of France from the unnatural barrack-system of Education, with its pedantry and cram, divorced alike from practice and from the knowledge of everyday life; and lastly, we should rob Catholicism of all that part of its influence which comes from purely *intellectual* conviction, by furnishing the cultivated with a wider range of generalisation and a longer line of historic evolution than that on which Catholicism rests, and by the help of which the intellectual dogmas of Catholicism would be seen to grow at each stage out of the *moral* necessities of that stage, and not as independently inspired truths absolute in themselves and good for all time. With these results the primary and direct effects of a System of Education founded on the Evolution of Civilization end; but these once realised by the agency of time and opinion, we can then turn with hope to the Material and Social Conditions of France, and by a certain necessary minimum of alterations in them, may hope to complete our scheme of reconstruction for the Twentieth Century, by releasing the remaining elements of the problem from the *impasse* in which they are held. The question now

becomes what these necessary alterations in the Material and Social Conditions are, and how they are to be brought about. And here it behoves a foreigner to walk warily, and to make suggestions with all deference and modesty. For while the effect on action of things of the mind is equally open to the student of any country; the exact weight that is to be attached to the material and social conditions of a particular country, can only be truly appraised by the inhabitants of that country themselves.

With this reservation, then, it may help us with our problem if we ask, to begin with, what precisely are the objects we wish to attain? And to this our most direct reply will be, perhaps, first, that we want a Legislature which shall represent real and solid interests, material and social, and not mere dynastic pretensions and theories of government, as at present; and in the second place, we want a Legislature which while representing these interests shall also represent what is best in the intellect, rank, wealth, and culture of France. If we attain to these, we shall have obtained a real government, inasmuch as it will be founded on real interests; a respected government, inasmuch as it will be made up of what is best in the country; and in consequence a stable government, as being a government at once both real and respected. And the question now becomes at what point or points in the political and social mechanism are we to strike, so as to attain these objects with the least disturbance of existing things? Now if to ascertain this we run over in our minds the great institutions of the country, we shall find, I believe, that just as Catholicism is the standing obstacle to the stability of France in so far as men's opinions and beliefs are concerned, so these five million odd Peasant Proprietors with their one to five acre fields, are the standing obstacle to the stability of Government from the material and social side. For while in England, as we saw, the system of large proprietors, by depopulating the country districts and driving the inhabitants into the towns, must in the end, by the

loss of a sufficiently large conservative element to balance the political headiness and instability of the towns, produce instability in the State; in France, on the other hand, although the interests of the peasantry are always abundantly safeguarded, the progress of the nation is retarded and the government itself kept for ever unstable by the indirect effect on the Legislature of these swarming millions, bound to the soil, and embruted by toil, avarice, ignorance, and superstition;—a race of men, it is to be observed, not naturally growing there, but artificially planted by the Revolution in accordance with the Gospel of Rousseau, and having no more justification or expediency, either in reason, nature, or true policy, than his dreams. A policy good for a canton of Switzerland, or for a little island like Jersey,—it becomes a monstrous absurdity when applied to almost the entire soil of France, which, so far as the future progress of the nation is concerned, might as well be peopled by Chinamen or Hindoo ryots—the more the worse! For what is the consequence? In the first place, their vast numbers and the universal suffrage which has been put into their hands, give them a representation in the Chamber out of all proportion either to their own needs or to national expediency. And in the second place, the character of these Representatives, by a fatal necessity of the situation, is the worst that could be devised either for legislative efficiency or for the stability and dignity of the Government which they control. For what with the distrust of the peasants for the old landlords whom they displaced at the Revolution; what with the absence of an intermediate body of large proprietors, living among them as their natural representatives; what with their ignorance, and their remoteness by reason of their very numbers from the great centres of industry and intelligence; there are no eligible or available representatives but the village lawyers, doctors, and local politicians, who originally engineered the Revolution in the provinces, and who are still the slaves of its watchwords. And the consequence is, that when these

Representatives take their places in the Chamber where they preponderate so unduly, having nothing real or solid to represent (the peasants having, as we have said, few or no real grievances) they give themselves up to personalities, to the baiting of Ministers, to wrangling and intrigues, and to dissertations on theories of government; and so must forever prevent the formation of real parties, under real leaders, representing real interests; and in consequence prevent Legislation from performing its natural and proper function of harmonizing and reconciling these real interests. And with what consequence? A perennial and unbridgable gap between the *personnel* of the Legislature and the real leaders of French opinion and society outside of it; thus engendering in the minds of the people, contempt and dissatisfaction; and in the State, unrest, instability, and a vague sense of national humiliation.

But this swarming and disproportioned Peasant Proprietary has another disquieting effect not less important though of a different nature, namely, that it is the main factor in keeping down the natural increase of Population in France. For the Law of Inheritance which compels equal division of property among all the children, and which was specially passed to keep up this very system of petty peasant proprietors, acts at the same time as a direct check to population, by the aversion which the parents naturally feel to having more children than their few acres when divided will keep in a decent subsistence, and the chronic fear of falling into poverty, with that loss of respectability among their neighbours which poverty would entail. For this decline in population, it may be remarked in passing, is no more natural among Frenchmen than among other peoples,—as is seen in French Canada and elsewhere,—but is entirely due to the motives for restraint above mentioned.

What, then, should be done? So long as the country districts are inhabited at all, and men are not fed by the descent of food like manna from Heaven; so long as there are no

new scientific discoveries to revolutionise or supersede the present cultivation of the soil; or so long as the soil of a country is not to be reaped as if it were a big Bonanza farm, and so become, as it were, a department of town industry;—so long as these conditions exist, the country should be graded into a hierarchy, by turning this endless vista of dead and monotonous molehills of peasant holdings into a pyramid; reducing their number by a half or more, and surrounding them by holdings of medium or large size, from fifty to one hundred, five hundred, a thousand or more acres, varying in the different parts of France according to the nature of the product and the intensity of the cultivation,—whether it be corn or roots, wine or oil, and so on;—the essential point being that there shall be no great gaps in the size of these holdings, but all shall pass into each other by such easy and natural transitions that there shall everywhere be a community of sentiment and interests among all the owners of land; from the bottom of the hierarchy or pyramid with its multitude of petty proprietors, to the middle and top with proprietors of culture, intelligence, and a certain amount of leisure; a system at once of equality and of inequality; the whole forming the natural pole and counterpoise to the character and occupation of the towns.

But were this scheme realised, what should we expect from it? In the first place, we should have Landed Interests represented by landed men with property at their backs, as in England, and not by small village doctors and lawyers; we should have Representatives of wealth, leisure, and culture, one in sentiment with the real rulers of opinion in the world outside, and acceptable therefore to the people. We should have a standing defence against tyranny, too,—which nothing so much invites as a dead level of particles individually unimportant, who can be bought up in detail or by handfuls,—for we should have, as in England, local centres of resistance occupied by men tenacious of their position, and with too much independence to be bought or sold. We should have also in the Chamber of

Deputies a single compact and completely organized Agricultural Party, led and disciplined by men of weight and position, who would rule their followers not by mere authority, as the Prefects do the Departments, but by reflecting and interpreting the common interests and sentiments of the entire Agricultural community. In this way we should have a real Party, as in England, instead of a distracted group of theorists, retaining their power, as at present, by casual combinations founded on personalities, self-interest, or chicane. We should give a stimulus to the declining population of France, by removing the motives for restraint; and finally should introduce into the heart of every district a body of men, many of whom would be progressive in ideas and full of the Modern Spirit; and so should help to restrict Catholicism to its parochial work mainly, and to restrain it from that interference with the secular education of the country which, for the sake of France, is so much to be deplored.

But admitting the efficacy of a gradated Land System forming a pyramidal hierarchy,—how, it will be asked, is it to be established? Not directly; neither by legislation, persuasion, nor force, as we have seen; for your peasant proprietor sticks to his land like a limpet, and there is no power at present available to move him. Nor is it desirable or in consonance with the principles of this work that anything violent, sudden, or revolutionary should be attempted in any sphere, but all should be done gently, softly, and through the slow and steady operation of time and opinion. But like taxation, which, when it cannot be collected by a direct impost except with difficulty, may be got indirectly and circuitously with ease, so too here it is possible to get our end indirectly while waiting for our changed system of Education to take effect. What we should propose would be to begin by altering the Law of Inheritance, and when this has had time to work, to seize every opportunity that offers to fix and extend its operation by means of direct legislation. But as this difficulty of the peasant proprietary forms a large

part of one side of that triangular *impasse* of which we have spoken, it is evident that like Catholicism and Militarism, it can be altered only by the slow operation of time and by wide changes of opinion; and for these again we must trust to the Evolution of Civilization in general and of France in particular taking the place of the utopia of Rousseau, as the Political Bible of the State.

So much, then, for our proposed re-organization of the country districts. But what of the cities and towns with their fierce antagonisms of theories of government and of dynastic pretensions; and with the workmen inflamed by the abstract utopia of Liberty and Equality carried farther and farther every year in the direction of Communism or Socialism? Now, it is on the Evolution of Civilization as the keystone of Education that we must rely for destroying the historical and speculative basis of these utopias; but for the rest, on establishing such a community of interests throughout the entire range of the Industrial Army, that its representatives, drawn from its highest ranks, shall form a distinct Party in the Chamber; and this we should attempt to do by so finely grading the world of Industry that beginning with a living-wage for the lowest class of Labour, we should rise upwards through the successive stages of energy and ability to the great Inventors, Organizers, and Administrators, at the top. The living-wage we should get by the workmen strengthening their Trades-Unions, their Co-operative Societies, and so on, as in England. In this way they would in time gain a 'living wage' which would be recognised as beyond the swing of reaction, and would be universally acknowledged as a first mortgage on all industrial undertakings. With this, and with Technical Schools and Institutes of Applied Science of all kinds; with a great University of Science at the top, all linked into a system so finely graded that ability and worth, with no impediment to their rise, shall find their place as naturally as degrees of heat in a thermometer; we should have the workmen, once their

utopias were dead, electing as their natural representatives in the Chamber of Deputies the great Inventors, Organisers, and Captains of Industry;—the Franchise, which must always preponderate in their hands as compared with their employers, being sufficient to protect the interests of their Trades Unions, and to effectually defend them from any attempt to encroach on their dearly bought conquest of a 'living wage.'

And now it is necessary to say something on the great system of Centralized Administration constructed by Buonaparte, and which has maintained its existence through all the succeeding régimes down to the present time. This, it is probable, will always remain more or less a necessity for France, so long at least as by her geographical position and the existence of national antipathies she is obliged to keep up the traditions of an armed and warlike State; while if circumstances should ever arise which would make War the order of the day, the system would have to be completed by its natural crown of a single despotic Head. But this Centralized Administration is not, as some suppose, necessarily inconsistent with the existence of Representative Institutions—unless, indeed, by these are meant the existing 'groups' founded on the abstract political ideals which we have passed under review. On the contrary, far from being a rigid cast-iron system of interference with the people's liberties, it is the most flexible and admirable arrangement yet devised for keeping local and central opinion in touch with each other, and so at once sweet and harmonious. For consider how it works. The Minister of the Interior sitting at the centre of the Administrative Machine in Paris, issues his orders through the Prefects and sub-Prefects lying along the great lines of administrative communication, to the thirty-six thousand mayors of the little municipalities at the extremities of the system; as the heart sends its blood to the capillaries on the circumference of the body. But there is no chronic or necessary antagonism, as might be imagined, between the centre and the circumference; on the contrary, after a pass or two

they are even ready to embrace each other! For just as the arterial capillaries bringing the blood from the heart, are in immediate touch and sympathy with the venous ones that convey it back again to the heart, so these Prefects and sub-Prefects, although they may begin by waking up the Mayors of the municipalities when they are inclined to fall asleep, soon make the official *amende*, and in the end find their paths smoothed for them by numerous countervailing compensations. And although there are various small corruptions incidental to this interchange of amenities, these are but as the oil which a machine requires to smooth the working of its wheels. For observe the play and balance of the forces involved. The local lawyers, doctors, and the rest, who are the mouthpieces of the villagers, choose from among themselves Deputies for the Chamber, and these in turn the Ministry of the day; but it is this same Ministry that appoints the Prefects and sub-Prefects who are sent down like commercial travellers to do business, as it were, with the Mayors and the local lawyers and doctors, and to recommend the Government wares! Now not only do the agents of the Government and the agents of the villagers not meet in antagonism, but they are so bound to one another by this wheel of circulation that it is both their interest and their disposition to agree. For as the Deputies who support the Ministry are appointed by the petty professionals of the municipalities, it is the interest of the Ministry to send in turn Prefects and sub-Prefects who shall make themselves as agreeable as possible to these municipals; and hence instead of antagonism, the tendency is always to compromise and harmony. And although, as we have said, a friend here and there has to be accommodated with a postmastership, or to be given a small contract, to smooth the way; such petty corruption when compared with the colossal corruption incidental to a *decentralized* Republican Administration like America, where whole States can be bought and sold in detail, shows like the nibbling of mice in a corn-bin, to the wholesale deportation of

the corn in sacks by the officials in charge. And besides, in this great system of Centralized Administration, you have realised a unique achievement, namely the making a despotic machine which is necessary to the State, acceptable to the governed; and this in a democratic State dominated by the idea of Equality is a service that cannot be too highly esteemed. For however well the country may in future be graded by an ascending scale of larger and larger proprietors, with the larger as the natural representatives of the rest, the old feudal relations among the occupiers of the soil which might justify a local decentralization as in England, will probably never return; and in default of this, the centralized system of Administration which at present exists, far from being inconsistent with, is on the contrary in my judgment necessary to the stability and success of Republican institutions in France.

So much then for the main outlines of the scheme which I have ventured to propose as a preliminary study for the reconstruction of France in the Twentieth Century—a scheme founded on the gradual operation of two great principles, one mental, the other material and social; the one making the Evolution of Civilization in general and of France in particular the Political Bible of the nation, and the keystone of the system of Education; the other, the giving of equal opportunity to all, by the fine grading from the bottom to the top of the scale of all Material and Social Conditions;—a scheme again, which, I may add in passing, is infinitely modifiable as to means, time, and occasion, by the accidents of war and peace, of scientific discoveries bearing on processes and modes of cultivation of the soil, of the aggregation or dispersion of the population in town or country, of the extent to which Labour is replaced by Machinery, and so on.

And finally a few words as to the most suitable *form* of Government for France. If wars of aggression, wars of revenge, wars for colonial expansion and the rest can be kept in abeyance, all points to the Republican form as on the whole

the best suited to the prevailing temper of the people. The present Military organization, which is subordinated to the Civil Power, would be quite adequate in peaceful times; and with a Chamber representing what was highest in intellect, rank, wealth, and culture in the State, would be disarmed of its restlessness, fretfulness, and dissatisfaction. Besides, the country with its remnants of Napoleonic administration could on emergency be converted into a purely military *régime* to-morrow, with but a minimum of change. The Republic alone can adequately represent the spirit of advancing civilization, of Science, of Liberty, of Progress, in an Industrial Age; while all other *régimes* which are supported by Catholicism, as well as a purely Military *régime*, would be retrograde.

In conclusion then we may say, that if the watchword for England in the Twentieth Century may be said to be, 'To your Ideal of Character add the Ideal of Intelligence,' that of France, paraphrasing the advice of Talleyrand to his diplomatists, would be, 'Above all things, no utopias!' For to be led by them and their resounding platitudes is not Intellect, or a mark of it. The mark of intellect is penetration; but these utopias are a mere jingle of half-truths, mistaking themselves for realities; and are the stock-in-trade of school-boys and debating societies rather than of men bent on serious practical concerns.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA—THE PROBLEM.

IN the present chapter I propose to illustrate by yet another instance, that of America, the way in which I conceive practical Political Problems are to be approached from the point of view of the Evolution of Civilization. I have selected America because following on France and England it will illustrate perhaps better than any other society of men, the main contention which it is the object of this volume to enforce, namely of how differently the political problems of different nations have to be treated when these nations are unlike each other in historical evolution, tradition, and habits of thought. If then we take the sentiments and habits of thought of these three nations, as the most important of the foundations on which enduring political structures are to be based, and compare them, we shall find that while in England and France alike, material and social conditions have from time immemorial tended to engender the sentiment of Inequality, in America they have all worked in the direction of Equality. In England, for example, with the political preponderance since the Conquest of the great landowners; with the Military Spirit as a tradition of the whole people during the same period; and with a religion which for the first five centuries was Catholic, and for the last three has been a kind of pale Catholicism attuned to the supremacy of the King and Aristocracy instead of to that of the Pope;—Inequality was

inevitable, and was and still remains the abiding sentiment of the people; Nonconformity although it has broken away in mass on religious grounds, being ever overcome and brought back again in detail by the dominance everywhere of an Aristocracy which, deeply entrenched in its broad acres, exerts like an atmosphere, a silent and steady pressure on individuals in every walk of life.

In France, again, with the unbroken practical Serfdom of her swarming agricultural population from the fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution, and with half her present population bent over their hoes in their one to five acre fields, and embruted with superstition and toil; with Catholicism repressing all purely intellectual aspirations, and imbuing men with faith and obedience mainly; and with a Military Spirit kept in a continuous glow by the immanence of War, and still further enforcing sentiments and habits of subordination and obedience;—Inequality was equally inevitable; and it is this natural inequality of fact beaten against by the factitious Equality of Rousseau, which continues to keep alive, as we saw in the last chapter, that triangular antagonism of sentiment under which France at present groans.

But in America all is different. There, a natural equality of sentiment, springing out of and resting on a broad equality of material and social conditions, has been the heritage of the people from the earliest times. Beginning from the Atlantic sea-board we see the Northern settlers gradually overspreading the Continent, and as the forests fall before their axes, the land is cleared and cultivated, not in little garden patches as in France, but in tracts of from fifty to two hundred acres each (usually one hundred and sixty acres), all the absolute property of their cultivators; breeding a race of men erect, independent, and free, and who cherish their independence and equality more than aught else besides;—the flame of equality burning ever the fiercer on the frontiers and in the backwoods, and throwing back its fiery glow on the hum-drum life of the

sea-board settlements as they tend to relapse into inequality and distinctions again. These Northern settlers, too, were Protestants, almost to a man, not of the Anglican type with King and Aristocracy as ideal and model, but Puritans, rather, and Calvinists, with God and the Bible as their supreme Lawgiver and Guide; the tendency of this equality before God being to react upon and stiffen their sense of equality before men. The School-house also everywhere accompanied the axe and the plough, and followed the settlers into the wilderness; while the habit of reading the Bible for themselves and of judging of the way in which their ministers interpreted it, was in itself a liberal education, and still farther enhanced the prevailing sentiment of Equality. Besides, except the petty frontier skirmishes with the Indians, there were no wars present or prospective to evoke and perpetuate the Military Spirit, with its training in sentiments and habits of subordination and inequality; and above all, no great landlords with their parks barred against intruders, or their lordly halls casting frowning shadows across the landscape, and unconsciously impressing the young mind with a vague and chilling sense of inferiority. In a word, the sentiment which was inbred and perpetuated among the inhabitants of this vast Continent during the two centuries or more required to make their way across it, was one of what we may call *natural* Equality, as distinguished from the *natural* Inequality of England on the one hand, and the *artificial* or hybrid and utopian Equality of Rousseau and of France on the other. But it is to be observed that this broad natural equality of sentiment, rooted in equal material conditions, equal education, equal laws, equal opportunities, and equal access to all positions of honour or trust, had just sufficient inequality mixed with it,—in the shape of greater or less mental endowments, higher or lower degrees of culture, larger or smaller material possessions, and so on,—to keep it sweet and human; while at the same time it was all so gently graded, and marked by transitions so easy and natural,

that no gap was anywhere to be discovered on which to found an order of privilege or caste.

Now, an equality like this, with the erectness, independence, energy, and initiative it brings with it, in men sprung from the loins of an imperial race, is a possession not for a nation only but for Civilization itself and for Humanity. It is a distinct raising of the entire body of a people to a higher level, and so brings Civilization a stage nearer to its goal. It is the first successful attempt in recorded history to get a healthy natural equality which should reach down to the foundations of the State, and to the great masses of men; and in its results corresponds to what in other lands (excepting perhaps the element of luxury alone) has been attained only by the few, the successful, and the ruling spirits. To lose it therefore, to barter it, or to give it away, would be in the language of Othello 'such deep damnation as nothing else could match,' and would be an irreparable loss to the world and to Civilization. Brought up under it myself in the backwoods of Canada, I can testify to the marvellous sense of exhilaration it brought with it to us boys as we roamed among the pine woods on the village outskirts, the sense of freedom as of mountain eagles, ready for any enterprise, with no shadow of the castle to daunt the imagination or cramp and repress the spirit.

And now we have to ask to what extent the political institutions of this homogeneous aggregate of one-hundred-and-sixty-acre freeholders gradually spreading across the Continent, with little villages and towns scattered in and among them, are adapted to conserve this independence, and to perpetuate this sentiment of natural equality? But before entering into this, and in order that we may the better understand how it is that the Boss, the Lobbyist, and the Log-roller, with the colossal corruption associated with their names, have managed to fasten themselves on the America of to-day, it will be as well perhaps to determine what must be the principle of construction of any piece of political machinery which shall adequately safeguard

this Liberty and Equality. And to this we may at once reply that the class of persons who by their votes *return* a candidate for any office or function, must be the same class of persons, differently expressing themselves, who have in the first place *nominated* or invited the candidate to stand. But there is this difficulty, that while it is a comparatively simple matter for a number of people to vote for the candidate of their choice, it is not so easy to agree on who shall be put up as candidate. This difficulty however is usually got over in practice by collecting what is called the general *consensus* of opinion as to who shall be nominated, either through the Press as the general organ of opinion, or informally through a number of persons in whom the people have confidence, and who are supposed to be acquainted with the merits of the candidates on the one hand, and with the general wishes and sentiments of the people, on the other. So that the political machinery for the conservation of natural equality may be compared to an hour-glass, where it is the same sand collected in a general heap at the top of the glass, that passes through the constriction in the centre and falls in separate grains to the bottom; and any country that provides this for its people gives them substantial Liberty and Equality. In the English counties, for example, the public, by an informal plebiscite through the Press or Party organization, usually nominates as its representative in Parliament a member of one or other of the old County families, whose history and antecedents are known to all; and it is the same public that afterwards votes in detail for him at the polls. Here the machinery is exactly commensurate with the amount and degree of equality which the people desire. Feudalism being still strong, the people have no wish for one of their own class to represent them, and accordingly no one of that class is nominated. There is thus a practically sufficient balance between opinion and machinery, between the upper part of the hour-glass and the lower; and we have substantial Liberty, if not Equality.

In America, on the other hand, nominations for office are made not from a separate class but from the body of the people themselves, and so we have substantial Equality. The machinery for this equality grew up quite naturally alongside of the equality of the citizens, and by the time of the War of Independence the whole country was divided into little electoral divisions of about equal size, and just large enough to permit of the easy access of all the voters to the annual meetings for the election of functionaries, held usually in a village in the centre of the district. At these meetings the municipal magistrates and officials were both nominated and appointed, and at the same time delegates from among them were sent to some central point of the State, there to meet with other delegates from other town-meetings, for the purpose of nominating the Governor, magistrates, representatives and officials for the State as a whole. No machinery could be more simple and natural or more in harmony with the principles of Equality. In the country villages and in the towns the population was so small that each person knew everybody else either personally or by report; and in consequence it was the same public opinion that nominated the respective candidates that afterwards voted for them in detail. It was a machinery of Equality eminently adapted to a society consisting of homogeneous units all nearly equal in position, station, and material prosperity;—to a country population of independent freeholders, and to a town population of shopkeepers and artificers—and suitable also to the requirements of a number of States each with population so sparse that the character and antecedents of the men called on to fill the more important offices were familiar to all by repute; the same, too, being the case, after the Union, with the Representatives and Senators sent to the Congress at Washington. The outline of this system will be made plainer, perhaps, if we represent the country as a vast plain divided for voting purposes into innumerable little squares, with the ground in the centre rising

to a hill, on the sides of which are situated the higher offices of the separate States, crowned with the citadel of the President of the Republic. And the essential elements will be found to be, first, that the light of Public Opinion fully illumines not only every corner of these little squares where the nominations for officers are made, but the whole voting area; and secondly, that the higher positions lying along the sides and slopes of the hill can be reached and filled *only* by those who have been both nominated and chosen directly or indirectly by these innumerable little squares lying in the plain around its base.

But it was not long after the War of Independence and the framing of the new Federal Constitution, that a number of movements, setting in from different quarters of American life, succeeded by an unhappy conjunction of their forces, in so operating on this political machinery of Equality as to convert it into a machinery of Despotism. This they did, not by altering the machinery in itself, but by simply shutting the light out from it,—or at least from that most important part of it which has to do with *nominating* candidates,—while at the same time getting the citizens to continue to vote just as they had done from the first. Thus arose the temptation for a number of citizens to conspire together against the rest, and by the aid of hired bands of accomplices, first to blindfold the electors, and then to drive them like sheep along a defile through the Party turnstiles to the polls. A short account here of each of these movements will not only serve to explain the genesis and evolution of the Boss, the Lobbyist, the Logroller, and the respective 'rings' to which they belong, but will furnish us at the same time with the principles which must guide us in our suggested reconstruction of the Politics of America in the Twentieth Century.

Now of these streams of tendency, the first three may be said to have been normal, natural, and being essential to progress, inevitable; the fourth, though harmless in itself,

had the effect, when united with the rest, of converting them, as in certain chemical combinations, into deadly political poisons. They may be tabulated in order as follows. First, Industrial Development and Concentration; second, the growth of great Cities; third, the Federal Constitution and the Party System; fourth, the substitution for the *natural* equality proper to the country and its traditions, of the *utopian* equality of Rousseau. The first, the Industrial Development, supplies the Lobbyist with his bags of gold for purposes of bribery and corruption; the second, the growth of great Cities, arms the Boss and the Ring with their regiments of hired accomplices; the third, the Party System, drives the voters, by the pressure of discipline and loyalty, to the polls; and the fourth and last, the utopian Equality of Rousseau, turns the lights out at the nominations, while the conspirators plunder the public by filling up political offices and appointments with their own nominees.

And first, then, as to the Industrial Development. If we take a panoramic view of America fifty years after the introduction of steam and electricity, we shall find its aspect entirely changed from what it was at the time the Republic was founded. Instead of the original homogeneous hundred-and-sixty-acre homesteads lying one behind another at only a measurable distance from the seaboard, with little villages and towns scattered in and out among them, and with no communication but the ordinary country roads, we shall find the entire face of the Continent overlaid with a vast network of railway and telegraphic communication, whereby the produce of factory and farm, which was formerly of use mainly for local consumption, is first collected into rills from the most distant stretches of territory, and is then poured in great streams into huge central emporia like Chicago, and heaped and concentrated there, until it is again redistributed to other parts of the Continent and the World. And as the machinery of all this interconnected system of Transport and Exchange is

permitted to become, like the farm, the shop, and the dwelling-house, the private property of the individuals who have organized it, the profits of this vast carrying trade skimmed from the wealth it carries, pour into the laps of those who control it, as Egyptian spoils did into the treasuries of the old Assyrian kings; while following on this, and made possible by it, and by the exclusion through hostile tariffs of the products of other countries, large Manufacturing Industries arise on every hand, and uniting later into gigantic Combinations or 'Trusts,' carry the principle of co-operation and of the division of labour to an extent previously unknown—combinations, we may observe in passing, which from the very necessity of industrial development must continue still further to concentrate and unite, until the cost of production of the staple articles of daily life is reduced to a minimum. All this lies in the ordinary course of things under existing conditions. But it was soon found that the political machinery which was admirably adapted to protect the equality and independence of individuals when they existed only as isolated units in their hundred-and-sixty-acre holdings, was not at all suitable when it became necessary to bind together all parts of the Union into this network of communication, for the development and furtherance of commerce and industry. For, as the express object of the Federal Constitution was to protect the sovereign independence of the several States, in so far as that was consistent with the sovereignty of the Union, so the aim of the separate States was to protect the independence of their Counties and Townships; while all existed to protect the independence, equality, and free opinion and consent, so far as possible, of each of the individuals within them. And accordingly, as we have seen, every office in parish, county, and State, from town-clerk up to Governor, and from Governor up to the President himself, was made to depend directly or indirectly on the free choice of these isolated individuals in their hundred-and-sixty-acre

holdings, and of the shopkeepers and artificers of the villages and towns. But this network of communication, it is to be observed, had not only to cut its way ruthlessly through the centres and corners of lots and fields belonging to these separate individuals, but through whole counties and States as well; and the operation, in consequence, with the existing political machinery of Equality, was as difficult and unworkable as it would be to open a new thoroughfare in a crowded city if you had to wait for the permission of each individual householder affected, or to collect the taxes if you had to wait until each of those assessed consented to pay. Hence the necessity of lubricants and persuasives to smooth the way; and the appearance in due time on the scene, of the Lobbyist, stalking up and down the corridors of Congress and the State Legislatures with bags of gold on which to draw at will. Now these Lobbyists, it may be conceded, are performing under the circumstances a useful and even necessary function, and one which in its results, at least, is beneficial to the public and to the State. But what of those other Lobbyists who following in the wake of the former and profiting by their example and methods, are also there with their bags of gold on which to draw,—not for the purpose of pushing through the Legislature useful and necessary projects, but to push through projects neither necessary nor useful, nor indeed intended to be so, but purely as sources of profit to themselves alone!

The second change in the landscape of American life to which we would call attention, and to which the original political machinery of Equality is unsuited, is the enormous growth within the last half century, of great Cities, where the crowded tenements, the slums, and the gin-palaces, recruited from the swarms of pauper immigrants ever being landed on the shores, and all alike armed with the franchise at the shortest possible interval after their arrival, furnish the Boss and his Ring with abundant material for their operations. And if, as we shall see presently, in addition to this, a perennial stream of

citizens can also be driven like sheep along a defile, and can by shutting off the light be so blinded as they pass through the voting turnstile, that they do not know for whom they are voting,—could not a solid body of men with their votes to sell, under a Boss or Captain, if they could be stationed so conveniently as always to be able to *control* the nominations and secure the elections, be turned as easily into a source of profit as a band of freebooters stationed along a road through which richly-laden caravans had constantly to pass? And would not the business of the Boss who organized this band of professionals, and put their services at the disposal of ambitious citizens anxious for place or power, become as normal and established after a time as that of the *condottiéri* of the Middle Ages, who, in the old Italian Cities, were in the habit of placing their services at the disposal of magistrates anxious to secure the supreme power? That the stream of voters shall be kept steady and continuous while this is going on, and that they shall be blindfolded as they pass through the nominating and electing turnstiles, is secured to the Boss and his band by the steady and continuous operation and combination of the last two of the causes and streams of tendency which we have enumerated,—namely, the relation of the Party System to the government of the Union; and the substitution of the *ideal* or *utopian* Equality of Rousseau for the *natural* Equality proper to America and to her material and social conditions, historical antecedents, and traditions.

Now it might perhaps help us to understand more clearly how it is that the Party System as it exists in America under the Federal Constitution is so unsuited to the existing machinery of Equality, if we were to pause here for a moment and compare it with the English Parliamentary System.

In England, although all the larger measures of policy required for the welfare of the nation are, of course, suggested by Public Opinion in a general way, not only the initiation of them, but the shaping and deciding of all points in reference to

them, are left to the Ministry and the Houses of Parliament to thrash out between them. The consequence of this is that when once the people regimented into their respective Parties have chosen the Prime Minister and his supporters at the General Election, they are at liberty to disband until the next general election comes round and calls them to form up in party lines again; while all merely local or municipal matters are left to them to vote on as they please, without reference to Party. In America, on the other hand, all the great questions vital to the nation as a whole are discussed, and in their main lines framed and decided, by the People themselves voting at the Presidential elections. That this is the case a retrospective glance over the history of the Union will at once make apparent. For twenty years or more before the outbreak of the great Civil War, these Presidential elections turned almost entirely on the power of Congress on the one hand, and on the rights of the separate States on the other, in their bearings on the Slavery question and its extension to the new States and Territories. After the war had decided this issue, these elections turned next on the reorganization of the South, and on what to do with the Negro; after that again, on Civil Service Reform; then on the Tariff question; then on Free Silver; and still later on Imperialism;—with a side glance, merely, at the question of the regulation of 'Trusts' and Corporations not yet ripe for solution; the work of Congress the while being mainly, to accept loyally these decisions of the People, and to carry them into legislation in strict accordance with the Party platform on which the different elections turned. That is to say, that while in England all measures of high politics are initiated, shaped, and decided by the Ministry and the Houses of Parliament between them; in America they are settled and disposed of by the People themselves. So that whereas in England when the Parliamentary lions have fed off the larger questions, the scraps and leavings of local and municipal legislation are left to the People to vote on as they choose; in

America, when the People and the President have disposed of the larger and more important issues, the scraps and leavings are thrown to Congress to decide. It is the same too with the separate States of the Union, which are practically sovereign bodies in all that concerns their own people. In most of them, and in an increasing degree as time goes on, all important matters are settled directly by the People themselves, and are added by them as amendments to the Constitution of the State; after which neither State Assembly nor Senate dare venture to tamper with them in a hostile sense, on pain of its interference being resented as an offence, and its legislation, if passed, promptly thrown out by the Federal or State Courts as unconstitutional;—the function of these State Legislatures, like that of Congress itself, being more and more restricted to the scraps left over by the People. Now the consequence of this broad difference in initiative between England and America is, that while in England it is only within the walls of Parliament that Party discipline cannot for a moment be relaxed; in America, it cannot be relaxed for a moment among the vast millions of the people themselves. But there is another and graver reason why Party discipline in America cannot for a moment be relaxed, and as it explains a paradox which has puzzled many foreign observers, it may as well be set down here before we proceed further. It is the enormous danger both domestic and foreign which is ever imminent in States,—especially those of great size and made up of heterogeneous sections of antagonistic sentiments and interests,—when the business of the nation is conducted directly by the People themselves voting in their millions on the question in dispute, instead of by proxy through a small number of representatives chosen by them, as in England. In Foreign relations particularly this will be at once apparent if we consider how grave the danger would be if the small complications that are constantly arising were to be settled by the Press of the respective countries inflaming popular passion, instead of being discussed

quietly and privately, with 'give and take,' by their respective ambassadors. It is the same with purely domestic questions in America. For although there are no burning problems at present fully emerged into the political sky, it is inevitable that before the Century is far advanced the People will be called upon to decide such momentous issues,—with all the possibilities of danger involved in them,—as those of the relations of Capital and Labour, of the regulation of Corporations and 'Trusts,' of Individualism and Socialism, of Free Trade and Protection,—all of them lying for the moment sleeping quietly side by side, with only an occasional or sectional growl here and there to indicate that the shoe is beginning to pinch in places more severely than usual. With these dangerous questions before them, like the anxiety of the trainer over his lions even when they are asleep, Party vigilance and discipline, which can take a nap between the General Elections in England and leave current politics to the Cabinet of Ministers, cannot be allowed to sleep for a moment throughout the entire breadth of the Union; for, were any of these great questions to be suddenly flung into the arena for decision,—as the Slavery question was in its penultimate stage,—before the People were prepared for it by discussion and the regular putting out of the Party platforms, they would be thrown into a state of agitation and confusion as great as in a shipwreck when there are no boats ready to be lowered, or in a famine or flood without organized transport; their worst passions would be aroused, and they would be in danger either of sectional differences being inflamed to the point of rebellion or civil war, or of power being thrown into the hands of the only bodies of men fully organized and equipped, namely the Political Bosses on the one hand (not the trusted leaders), and the great Corporations and 'Trusts' on the other—a danger which, if they should unite their forces and intended to scuttle the ship, would (but for the want of a large standing Army) in the absence of a counterbalancing organization among the Working-men, have been in other ages of the

world, it is needless to remind the reader, not only a probability but almost a certainty. Now it is this haunting fear of precipitating questions which, as they have to be decided by the People themselves individually and in the mass, are in imminent danger of being blown into antagonisms which may imperil the Union—it is this which is the explanation of the paradox to which we have alluded and which has so puzzled the students of American Politics, the paradox, namely, of the extreme Party vigilance and loyalty to Party discipline at a time when the differences of principle between these Parties have almost reached the vanishing point, and when all the great standing interests of individuals are fully safeguarded by the Constitution. It is this danger too which is the explanation of the curious fact that these Parties—considering the great variety and complexity of sentiment and interests over the different sections of the Union—are not allowed to split up and break away into groups, as one would have supposed, and as they do in other countries, but are confined to two. They are confined to two for the same reason that the tamer keeps all his lions in front of him, namely that they may be kept better in hand; all sectional questions or interests having in America, as we know, either to affiliate themselves with one or other of these two parties, and so get as much of their programme worked in as they can in that way, or to lie out for the time altogether. It is this danger, too, in the background, which serves to keep Party loyalty alive and alert at the utmost extremity of the Union, and which, lest any minutest section should give forth an uncertain sound, has decreed that all local and municipal elections whatever, for the most petty and trumpery offices, shall be fought on Party lines. And lastly, and at first sight more extraordinary still, it explains why the People everywhere feel it their duty to support their Party nominees at these elections, even when they know or suspect that they are voting for professional politicians steeped in bribery and corruption. But we still have to enquire how it is

that these elections have been allowed to fall into the hands of the Boss and his Ring, and why it is that this despotism cannot at present be thrown off. The answer to this will bring us to the last of the four great causes or tendencies which we have mentioned as having combined to fasten the Boss, the Lobbyist, and the Log-roller on the necks of the people,—namely, the conversion of the *natural* equality proper to the people and their traditions, into the *ideal* or utopian equality of Rousseau, owing to the fierce heat that was concentrated on it from several points at successive periods in the nation's history.

The great exciting cause of this enthusiasm for a utopian equality was the tyranny of the Mother Country which culminated in the War of Independence, and which, by the burning passions it aroused, ended in the inserting of the 'Rights of Man' borrowed from Rousseau, into the preamble of the Declaration of Independence—a proclamation of ideal equality which from then onwards assumed a quasi-religious character, and was transformed from a necessary political means into a burning political end and evangel. Kept in bounds for the first half century in the Eastern States, it burned from the first with a fierce intensity on the frontiers as the West was gradually settled and filled in, as well as in the South where the extreme individualism of Jefferson and the doctrine of States-rights linked themselves on to it as by a natural affinity; so that long before the actual outbreak of the Civil War it had made itself felt in every department of American life, and nowhere more so perhaps than in its Politics. Now in countries like Canada, for example, where a *natural* equality is as proper to the material and social conditions of the people as it is in America, but where no tyranny has occurred to inflame that equality to the transcendental pitch, this natural equality is rightly held to be sufficiently secured when each individual has equal rights, equal opportunities, and equal access to any position or office of trust to which he may be called by the free suffrage of his fellow-men;

and it is generally felt that when once offices are filled, they should be regarded as more or less permanencies unless forfeited by dishonesty or incapacity. But in countries where a *natural* equality has been blown into an *ideal* or transcendental equality, this is not sufficient. Then, nothing will do but that all appointments whatsoever should be held for as short a term as possible, and in the mere routine offices as far as possible by rotation,—almost by lot. And hence it was that at about the end of the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century, when the flame of equality had already reached a high point of intensity, not only were the Federal office-holders throughout the Union forced to turn out with their Party when the elected candidate of the opposite Party was seated in the Presidential chair, (the Spoils System it was called), but the tenure of the pettiest municipal offices began to be limited to the shortest possible term, in order not only that as many people as possible should have their turn of office, but mainly for fear lest a caste of permanent office-holders should arise, and giving themselves airs of superiority, should violate the sacred principle of equality. Even the Judges, whom it has been the policy of all nations to keep from corruption by making their tenure of office for life or for good behaviour,—even the appointment of the Judges was in many States taken out of the hands of the Governor or the State Legislature and made the spoil of Party, and their tenure of office reduced to the shortest possible term—and all to satisfy this mania for ideal equality, and to disarm the people of their fears lest a life-tenure might be made the instrument either of tyranny or of inequality. As the Convention of New York State put it when in 1846 it took away the appointment of the Judges from the hands of the governor and Council, and placed it in those of the people themselves;—'The happiness of this State will henceforth under God be in their own hands'—and with result, what? As Mr. Bryce remarks in commenting on it, for the illustrious

Chancellor Kent they got the notorious Judge Barnard of Tweed and Tammany fame.

Now as Politics is as much a practical art as house-building, this over-charged and inflated form of Equality proved, as we saw in an earlier chapter, an unsound element in the State, and one on which nothing solid and enduring could be built. The original sense of *natural* equality of this free and independent people, bred and reared on a virgin soil on a scale unknown in the world before, was a real advance in Civilization, a real help to progress, and one which must be protected and preserved to Humanity at all costs. But this *transcendental* and inflated equality, which, like a swimming-bladder, was a wonderful help when applied to the breast of a young and lusty nation battling for liberty in a strong sea, became, when it got fastened to feet and legs instead, a hindrance rather than a help—as when the franchise was given to the Negro after the Civil War, in which instance it would not only have impeded civilization in the South, but would have swamped and drowned it utterly, had not the Whites been able in time to get out their pocket-knives and, slitting the over-inflated bladder, get their heads, instead of their feet, above water again! But this of the Negro was only a foretaste of what was afterwards to happen. For at the very time when the Boss and his Ring by their manipulation of the voters were sharing the spoils of the sacked and plundered cities, men were being driven by this exaggerated sentiment of Equality to stand on the landing places of the Continent as the Emigrant-ships came in, and to thrust into the hands of the unwashed human freightage, papers of naturalization which after the shortest possible time would provide the Boss with further instruments of corruption, dangerous and deadly as daggers,—and with as much soft *empressement*, too, as if they were religious tracts!—and all for fear lest this sacred abstract and ideal equality should for a moment be infringed. Was it any wonder then, that with a sentiment like this filling the air, the Boss and his Ring should have been

tempted, nay impelled, to enter in? But now we have to see more particularly, precisely how this exaggerated and transcendental equality operated to throw not only the nominations for City offices, but to a certain extent those for the State and Congress itself, into the hands of the Boss and the Ring—and so converted a machinery of natural Equality into a machinery of Despotism.

In a general way then we may say at once, that it operated by shutting off the light so completely from the People, that though they were driven, as we have seen, by the necessities of Party discipline to vote, they were as ignorant of the candidates for whom they were voting as if they had been blindfolded. And this it did not positively but negatively, by making persons and things revolve so quickly that in the maze and whirl nothing was clearly distinguishable. So that the very means taken in the pursuit of transcendental Equality to keep everything open and above board, acted as if intended to keep everything concealed and shut; in the same way as if you should freely invite the public to a concert, and then surround the doors with a band of ruffians who would drive people away; or as if you should invite them to a banquet, and then set before them nothing that they could eat! For how stand the facts?

In the first place, these election areas are so small, and in the great cities so numerous, the elections come round so quickly, most of the appointments are of so petty a character and there are so many to be filled (one hundred or more each year in New York alone), that it would take a staff of newspaper reporters equal in number almost to the voters themselves to keep the public informed of the character and antecedents of the candidates for nomination to office; and even were this satisfactorily accomplished, the offices to be filled are so unimportant that the chronicle would be as uninteresting as a catalogue of the office boys, clerks, and workmen constantly being engaged or dismissed by private firms. Nobody wants

to know who are the occupants of these trumpery ward offices, nor in fact do either private citizens or the Press seriously attempt to find out. The light of Public Opinion, in consequence, is practically as completely shut off the nominations for office, as if it had been intentionally turned out. But should any member of the community still insist on exercising his right of nomination, to do so he must as often as not knock at the parlour door of some public house, where he will be turned back if his name is not on the Party list of voters; and even should he be allowed to enter, he is as likely as not to be hustled for his trouble, if he make himself obnoxious by his speech or vote to the swarms of accomplices planted there by the Boss, and will in the end, as experience proves, find himself hopelessly outvoted. The consequence is that the general public stays away, and that the *nomination* of candidates, which as we have seen is as necessary a part of the machinery of Liberty and Equality as is the power of *appointing* to office, is settled without it, and in spite of it, by the Boss and his tail of recruits; and so the very excess of machinery which the transcendental sentiment of Equality has necessitated, has the same effect as if it were a machinery necessary and proper to despotism itself; like an excess of light and glare, which has on the eyes the same effect as darkness. Now were these elections confined to the appointments to petty municipal offices, it would matter perhaps but little, but the danger as well as the absurdity and disgrace comes in when we remember that it is in these same hole-and-corner meetings in the back-parlours of public houses, and by the votes of these same regimented ragamuffins of the Boss by whom the petty clerks and road-inspectors of the neighbourhood are nominated, that candidates are nominated also, not only for the important offices of the City, but indirectly through delegates, for the higher offices of the State—its Legislative Assembly, its Senate, its Governorship, in many cases its Judgeships,—as well as for the House of Representatives and the Senate of the

United States itself. Now, as he who nominates, with none to effectively oppose, really dictates and rules, it is evident that if, with the present machinery of Equality, there were a few cities like New York or Philadelphia in each and every State of the Union (instead of, as at present, in only a few) a handful of these Bosses would be able to turn the scale of State elections, and so would largely control the entire administrative machinery of the United States. It is as if in England the Party nomination for the Premiership were to be decided by as many Whitechapel costermongers paid to vote as could be packed into the coal cellars or bar parlours of the metropolis! and worse than all, that the necessity of Party discipline should then make it obligatory on the whole Party to vote for their nominee and for no one else! So complete a *reductio ad absurdum* of Equality has never been known in the world before. It is clear that here at least the swimming bladders have somehow got fastened to the feet and legs again; and that the natural equality has by its *excess* been turned upside down, and as completely converted into an instrument of despotism, as when an excess of acidity turns wine into vinegar. Indeed, this machinery of transcendental Equality could not have been more admirably adapted for Despotism had it been specially designed for that purpose; and reminds one of the Roman Empire in the days of the early Cæsars, which still kept up the political machinery of the Republic, and flaunted its phrases and watchwords, long after its liberties had passed away;—and that by the simple trick of getting the most important offices of State voted by the Senate into the Emperor's hands. In the one case as in the other, the trick was worked by the perpetuation of an absurdity, with the object of flattering a prejudice or an excess; in the case of Rome—the absurdity of perpetuating Republican forms when their life and soul had fled, in order to flatter the recipients of 'bread and the circus' by the illusion that they were still free; in the case of America—the absurdity of bar-parlour nominations to political

office, in order to flatter the People by the delusion that nothing is or can be done without their consent. Fortunately however, the high politics of America are still settled, as we have said, by the People and the President between them, and in spite of Bosses and Rings; and while that is the case, these absurdities, which from the outside look so colossal and menacing, will be found to be only colossal absurdities,—and not real dangers to the State. In the next chapter we shall consider whether any, and what reconstruction can be suggested with the hope of abating them.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICA—RECONSTRUCTION.

BEFORE indicating a few of the changes which it is necessary to make in the machinery of American Politics in the Twentieth Century in order to bring it into line again with the trend of Civilization in general and of American Civilization in particular, it may be as well perhaps to pause for a moment, and stepping back from the canvas, endeavour to take a broad survey of the whole field, with the view of determining the relative importance and subordination of its various parts. Then will it appear how really insignificant are those blots and blemishes on which we have been obliged to concentrate so microscopic a scrutiny, when compared with the din and uproar which they have made in the world; and how relatively unimportant is their effect on American political life. They belong, as we hinted in the last chapter, not to the essentials but to the adjuncts of Politics; not to the solid, vital substance on which the lions,—the People,—feed, but to the scraps and leavings which have fallen to the vultures and the jackals. For if we consider it, there is no one of the great objects for which Government exists, which has not for the last hundred years been abundantly provided for and safeguarded by the Federal Constitution—life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, security of person and property, freedom of religious opinion and worship, and, above all, an open arena, with equal rights,

equal opportunities and equal access to positions of honour or trust for all,—and that too in a degree unknown elsewhere in the world, with the exception perhaps of some of the Colonies still attached to the British Crown. But to see how little real organic change is needed in order to fit America for taking her place in the advanced civilization of the Twentieth Century, it is only necessary to recall for a moment the changes required to keep England and France abreast with the necessities of that civilization, both in the material and social sphere and in the realm of thought, sentiment, and belief. In England, we saw that to get all the elements of a healthy national life, the entire agricultural area would have to be re-stocked with a race of small independent proprietors, who should not supplant the larger proprietors but should exist alongside of them and be graded up to them; the whole forming a kind of natural pyramid, made up of many small holdings at the bottom and with fewer and larger ones as we ascend towards the top. In France, on the other hand, precisely the opposite process is necessary. There, half or more of the miserable one-to-five-acre holdings--peopled by peasants, sordid, superstitious, and as unprogressive as Hindoo ryots, whose very conditions supply an automatic check to population, and whose main function, beyond their unending toil, is to act as inert and useless ballast merely, in the unstable sea of French Politics;—half of these holdings or more will have to be thrown into larger ones capable of sustaining a more progressive race, if the country is to fulfil the future expected of her.

It is the same with the world of Thought. To equip England with the qualities required for an Industrial Age, Intelligence as such, as we saw, must be made a twin-ideal with the present composite ideal of Character and Sport, and for this end innumerable small changes must be made in order to bridge over the wide gaps that everywhere still exist to perpetuate the mediæval idea of Caste. Not that hierarchy must be abolished, but that it must be so graded that the arena shall

everywhere be open to Talent, Energy, and Character; while in France, until you can get rid of the antagonism of sentiment and belief between Catholicism and Rousseauism which holds her civilization fast as in a vice, neither stability nor progress is possible.

Now, in America, no reconstructions such as these are required. For there, the broad equality necessary to progress reposes securely on its millions of hundred-and-sixty-acre holdings, on its universal education, on its freedom of religious worship and opinion, and on the equal opportunity given to all to rise, in every department of life; and so in place of the handicapping of Intelligence as an ideal by a system of modified caste, as much room is provided for natural and proper inequality as either progress would demand or political philosophy prescribe. And with these standing *desiderata* of human life attained, the multiplied scandals and corruptions of its political life to which the prevailing publicity of the age has given a world-wide advertisement, are but as dust in the sunbeam; or like those superficial skin eruptions, which starve in the anæmic, but riot and luxuriate in those of the richest blood. And yet they indicate maladjustment or excess somewhere; and although they distinctly belong to what we have called the scraps and leavings of Politics, the task of American Statesmanship in the Twentieth Century is as far as possible to remove them.

If then in our last chapter we were successful in tracing the corruption of American politics to its true causes, it will be found that these causes may all, for purposes of reconstruction, be summed up in two,—the one mental, the other material; the one a falsity in sentiment, the other a defect in machinery. The first is the substitution of the *abstract* and utopian Equality of Rousseau for the *natural* Equality proper to men born and bred under a practical equality of material and social conditions. The second,—a double defect,—is, on the one hand, the unsuitability of the original political machinery of Equality for the new age of Industrial Development and Centralization;

and on the other, the forcing of the pace of that machinery to keep up with the demands of this Utopian Equality. All the other indirect contributory causes, such as the new Industrial Development, the rise of great Cities, and the necessity for Party vigilance and discipline in a Government conducted by the People themselves—all these are either natural and inevitable, or are part of the organic structure of American political life itself, and must therefore be handled with the greatest care and caution by the practical Statesman. These therefore we shall touch on but lightly here, and in our proposed reconstruction shall confine ourselves to the two direct and immediate causes of corruption,—namely the Utopian Equality, and the defective or unsuitable Machinery.

Now as for the first,—the sentiment of Utopian Equality as basis for the political machinery of a State,—this can only be altered in America, as in France, by the substitution of the Evolution of Civilization in general as the political Bible of the nation, for the Bible of Jefferson and Rousseau; and this substitution, again, can only be gradually effected by making this Evolution the keystone of Secular Education in America as in all other advanced countries. The main results which I should expect to flow to America from this substitution would be, the convincing of the people that no political abstraction of any kind, much less the abstraction of ideal or utopian Equality, has ever been able to maintain itself, except for moments and during periods of transition, in any civilization the world has yet seen; that these abstract ideals have always been temporary means, never realised ends; and that all life being a composite and inter-connected complex of many parts, they, although good as ideals to lead men on, are, like platonic love, peace-at-any-price, and the rest, unsound material with which to build a solid and enduring structure, political or other. But all this I have already laboured *ad nauseam* in preceding chapters; and if I may venture to take it as established, provisionally at least, we shall now be free to concentrate on the second immediate

cause of American political corruption,—namely those defects in the political Machinery which have necessarily flowed from this exaggeration and excess of the principle of Equality.

In a general way, then, we may observe to begin with, that in a country like America where, as we have seen, the People undertake to settle all questions of high National Politics not by Parliament or Congress, but directly and immediately themselves, it is an indispensable condition of success that the political machinery to their hand should be such that the persons or situations on which they have to pronounce judgment should be fully illumined by Public Opinion. The American people are so intelligent, so resourceful, so flexible, and so free from cut-and-dried methods, that on all questions where the facts and arguments have been fully and fairly submitted to them, they are, if not always competent to judge in the first instance, yet so quick to profit by experience, that the continued existence among them of standing absurdities like the rule of the Bosses or the colossal corruptions of their Legislatures, can only mean either that they do not care sufficiently about these matters to give the time and trouble to remedy them, or that owing to the defects in the existing political machinery they cannot get sufficient light thrown on the details to enable them to deal satisfactorily with them. In the corruptions of American Politics both of these causes have, each in its own way, contributed to the result.

In the first place, the whole of this complex system of bribery and corruption belongs not to the domain of National Politics (for there, all alike, Bosses and the rest, have to march in line and order), but rather to personal or 'private-bill' legislation and administration; and whether it be the passage through Congress of a railway bill for one of the Territories, or of a city charter through one of the State Legislatures, or of a gas, or tram, or water bill through a City Council, the manner of its arrangement gives them very little concern. If, in the particular instance, it be a good and necessary bill which by

reason of defective political machinery is obliged to be lobbied through Congress or Assembly or Council by bribery—well and good, the price has been paid and the bill has been passed. If it be a bad and corrupt bill, then they feel that the expenditure in time or money necessary to put it right, besides upsetting so many other things by the way, is more than the thing is worth, and prefer to submit to the robbery rather than to incur the cost. It is purely a matter of time and money either way, and except for the question of personal immorality, involves no distinct political principle. Nor need the indifference of the people to the corruptions of their politics, although regrettable, be made a special reproach to them, when we remember the passivity with which the people in most European countries have submitted for ages to be shorn and taxed, to pay rent and toll to a handful of monopolists for the privilege of being allowed to live and pursue their calling—and all because of what? Because bands of freebooters centuries ago invaded these countries and drove the ancestors of the people from the land—and when one remembers this, one can understand, if not altogether excuse, the indifference of the Americans to the rule of the Boss. In both cases it is a matter of profit and loss; in European countries, of whether it will pay the people to revolt, in the hope of ridding themselves of the intruders and monopolists, as in the French Revolution; in America, of whether it will pay them to spend upon the defective machinery the time necessary to reform it. The Americans, in full view of the difficulties involved, have so far decided to leave things as they are, and to protect themselves from the contagion of the political immorality by putting the lower and more obnoxious set of professional politicians in a class apart, like prostitutes, and shunning them—or making them the object lessons of sermons or tracts!

But besides this indifference, the real difficulty involved in remedying the defects in the political machinery is to be considered. Now these defects are partly owing to the

unsuitability of the original machinery of Equality, which was devised for the independent and homogeneous hundred-and-sixty-acre freeholders, to the complexity and heterogeneity of an age of Industrial Concentration and Development; and partly to the impossibility of any machinery that can be devised, meeting the demands of utopian Equality; but whatever the origin or nature of the defects, they will always be found to operate in the same way, namely by shutting out the light of Public Opinion from the parts where the corruption is bred and engendered, as when air and light are shut out from sewers or other receptacles of dangerous and disease-bearing germs. And the remedy, if it were practicable to get it, is obvious, namely so to alter the machinery in detail that every office, position, or function in the State, shall be placed at that angle where the light of Public Opinion shall fall full and flush upon it and illuminate its every corner; as when the blind alleys in cities, the haunts of villainy and crime, are pulled down and thrown into open thoroughfares. If this were done in America, all were done; for she requires little more to keep her true to the line marked out for her by advancing civilization. But in order to locate these *culs-de-sac*,—these closed and darkened spots in the machinery of American Politics to which the light of Public Opinion cannot penetrate—it will now be necessary to take a rapid survey of these Politics, from the top to the bottom of the scale; when we shall find that by a line drawn across them, they may conveniently be divided into two parts. The part above the line, like that above the snow-line of an Alpine range, cold, clear, and pure, and in the full flush of sunlight, is occupied by the Presidency, the Supreme Court, and partly by the Federal Senate; that below, full of bustle and life, but shut out from the light over large areas by dense and scrubby under-growth, is occupied by Congress, the State Legislatures, the City Councils, and the Ward-Committees, with their lobbies, their caucuses, and their bar-parlours, —and all peopled by Log-rollers, Lobbyists, Bosses, and the

regimented off-scourings of the emigrant ships and the slums. Let us take those institutions that lie above the snow-line, and, as first in order, begin with the Presidency.

Now the first remark we would make in reference to the Presidency is. that so long as the people of a country take into their own hands the initiative in all matters of legislation, and as is the case in America, even dictate its main provisions in more or less detail, no official, however highly placed, not the President himself, can find room for the exercise of original or constructive Statesmanship. And hence it is that the qualities required of the President are those of the judicious, careful, circumspect administrator, who proceeds with caution and tact, with his ear ever on the ground-swell of Public Opinion, and who, by the prudent and conscientious exercise of his veto, takes care that the policy of the Party platform which carried him to power shall suffer no detriment from legislation antagonistic to its spirit. As regards Foreign Policy, there has been little hitherto which has necessitated any departure from the traditional policy, namely of non-interference and isolation; but should the people seriously insist that the nation shall adopt a policy of Imperialism, thus bringing it sooner or later into closer relations with other States, more specialised forms of ability than are needed at present would be demanded of aspirants to the Presidential Chair. As it is, so fiercely does the light of Public Opinion beat upon the person of the President, upon his qualities, his abilities, his antecedents, that little or no change in the political machinery either of his nomination or of his election is required. All that is wanted in connection with his office, perhaps, is to take away from it the eternal rotation of the 'Spoils,'—that curse of the mania for utopian Equality which helps to aggravate all the other disorders, and to emphasise all the defects in the machinery of the State.

Leaving then the President and his Cabinet—who, unlike the Cabinet-Ministers of other countries, are merely clerks and

advisers of the President, appointed by him and dismissed at will,—let us glance next at the Supreme Court of the United States, which also lies above the snow-line, serene and dignified and in the full light of publicity. Sitting there, high over all the other elements of the Constitution, with its members holding office for life or good behaviour, it represents the People as a whole on the Judicial side, as the President (although nominally an executive officer) does on the Legislative side. Its ability, purity, and inviolability are assured, as one would know beforehand, by its composition, its tenure of office, its publicity, and the appointment of its members by the President alone. It is a unique success, and is the standing glory of the American Commonwealth. The same qualities, although in a less degree, mark the offshoots of this Supreme Court scattered among the several States of the Union—and maintained there for the settlement of disputes arising between the different States, between individuals in the same State, or between individuals and the United States, on all matters over which the Union, as distinct from the separate States, has exclusive jurisdiction. All these Courts, which often have to restrain Public Opinion and to check the State Legislatures, are fully under the eye of Public Opinion, of the Bar, and of the Press, and are held in high and general esteem.

As for the United States Senate again,—the last of the three institutions on which the People as a whole relies as the instrument of its will—it lies on the border of the snow-line as it were; the executive functions which it shares with the President in regard to treaties and Foreign Relations, and which are exercised for the most part with disinterestedness and purity and with full responsibility, lying above the line; while the legislative functions which it shares with the Lower House of Congress, with its temptations and dangers of corruption, lie below it. Now this Senate, although nominated by the 'Caucus' and the wire-pullers in the several States, and although appointed by the Legislatures of these States, which

are themselves largely under the dominion of the 'Caucus,' the wire-pullers, and the Bosses of the great cities within their limits;—this Senate, owing to the high esteem in which it is held, its long term of office, and to there being only two members to represent each State, is so much in the public eye, that Caucuses, wire-pullers, and Bosses alike are obliged in their nominations to it, to reflect the general sentiment of the community. But it is still a question whether an even better selection of Senators might not be had, if, like the President, they were more directly elected by the People of the States themselves under the full light of Public Opinion, instead of by the Legislatures of the States. For, with the great body of a people, Character as such counts for more than it ever can with professional politicians; and the value of Character in a Senator will need no enforcing when we remember that, as we have said, the Senate shares with the Lower House of Congress the legislative functions of the Federal Government, and that along the corridors of both, and outside their committee-rooms, the Lobbyist with the means of corruption in his pocket, and the Boss with power in his hand, range freely up and down. For although the legislative committees of the Senate are chosen with more impartiality than those of the Lower House (being chosen by ballot and by seniority, and not directly appointed, as in the Lower House, by the Speaker), and although they bring to the consideration of the political problems before them more ability and experience, still, as a body, owing to these temptations, it is never wholly without members who are known to be open to bribery or corruption. And yet taking it for all and all, the members of the Senate are a superior body of men, and still worthily sustain, as they have always done, the dignity and honour of the Republic.

To sum up, then, we may say that these three institutions, namely the Presidency, the Supreme Court, and the Senate, are the only institutions to which the People of the United States as a whole have entrusted the execution of their ideas,

aims, and policy, legislative and judicial,—the former, as indicated by the platform on which the President of the day is elected; the latter, the inviolability of the Constitution, and the rights, privileges, and duties both of individuals and of the separate States to each other and to the Union at large. They are the real organs of the national will, and they carry out the duties entrusted to them, and expected of them, conscientiously and well. With the exception mentioned, they all lie above the snow-line of our analogy, and are fully illuminated by Public Opinion; and therefore need no new machinery for their amendment. It is only when we get below the line, and come to the lesser administrative and judicial machinery with which the People as a whole has no concern,—to the political leavings in short—that we come on the underground cellars of Politics, the bar-parlours and ward-committee rooms to which the light of Public Opinion cannot penetrate, where the Lobbyist, the Log-roller, and the Boss hold court and session, and where they continue to live and flourish. But before indicating some of the ways by which the machinery of these institutions may be reformed without doing violence either to the Constitution, or to the historical continuity and traditions of the Republic, it will be necessary to direct our attention for a moment to each of them in turn.

And first, as to the Lower House of Congress—the House of Representatives. Now of this we may as well say at once that taken by itself and apart from the veto of the President on its bills, no machinery deliberately designed for the encouragement of bribery and corruption could be more accurately adapted to the purpose than this of Congress; or for that matter, of the Legislatures of the several States. All the arrangements which in civil life experience has suggested and art perfected for successful assignation, and for the bringing together of the conspirator and his victims, have here reached their flower and consummation; all the arrangements for conquering Legislatures as wholes by conquering them at points and in detail, are here

unwittingly, as it were, and by chance secured as if by deep-laid design—the isolation of the victims, their fewness in number at the point of attack, their rapid transit across the political stage, the absence of party restraints, public opinion shut out, the lights turned down, and the Lobbyists standing at the turnstiles ready to reward their accomplices as they pass through, one by one, into the darkness. So that, in the same way as in the last chapter we saw that the natural machinery of Liberty and Equality had in the ward nominations of cities been turned by an *excess* of equality into the machinery of despotism; in this we shall see that the machinery devised for the despatch of business has in Congress and the State Legislatures been turned, partly from the same excess, into the machinery of bribery and corruption. Now so important is this, if true, that the reader will not, I trust, regard the time as wasted if we attempt to exhibit it more in detail. And the first point we would remark is, that owing to the circumstance that the important legislation of the country has been settled once for all by the People themselves, at the Presidential elections, beyond all appeal, and is afterwards safeguarded by the veto of the President against all efforts of Congress to infringe it—when once this has been done, and the programme carried through by suitable legislation, Congress has little further to concern itself with, until the next Presidential election comes round, but what is called 'private bill' legislation. Now these private bills that come before Congress, when you look closely into them, are seen to involve no Party principle, nor indeed political principle of any kind. They consist of such matters, for example, as whether there shall be a harbour or a lighthouse erected here rather than there, or not erected at all; a postal service in a particular State extended or not; a railway built in a particular Territory, and whether it shall take this direction rather than that, and the terms of its incorporation; whether a tariff shall be imposed on the imports of iron, steel, cotton, coal, or certain varieties of manufactured

articles, and to what extent in each case; whether the widow of some old soldier shall have a pension or other compensation; and so on—all, except the Tariff, matters of the political scraps and leavings as we have termed them, and which but for the enormous pecuniary interests often involved, might safely be left to the administrative departments of the Government directly responsible to the President acting as guardian of the national integrity; or if not, then to special committees of the House acting, like juries, in a *judicial* capacity rather than in a strictly legislative one, and therefore on which members, so far as Party ties are concerned, are free to vote as they please. But as my object here is to demonstrate how wide is the extent of the field in which members of Congress are laid open to temptation, and how few are the obstacles interposed between them and bribery and corruption, it is necessary to make the European reader see what a large part of the legislative activity of Congress is covered by these 'private bills,' and how few are the ties of principle or party, political or other, which prevent the members who have to deal with them voting on them as they please. And for this purpose I cannot do better perhaps than establish a comparison between America and England and France.

In England, for example, where society is still deeply trenched by those questions of monopoly, wealth, and privilege, on which the political parties are largely based, nearly every question that comes before the Houses of Parliament bears directly or remotely on one or other of these issues; and the consequence is that most questions are Party questions, most divisions Party divisions, on which the individual members are expected, if not pledged, to vote with their Party. But in America, where most of the objects of Government are already secured by the Constitution; where there are neither any ancient monopolies nor ancient privileges to be defended; and where the new monopolies and interests which are to be the sources of Party divisions in the future have not yet emerged

on the horizon of National as distinct from Sectional politics, not yet been made essential parts of the Party platforms at the Presidential elections; and further where, when once the People has given its mandate as seen in the results of these elections, discussion practically ceases, and the People's will is carried into effect in the shortest possible time;—in America, it is evident that strictly Party voting in committees is only occasional, and that the rule is to vote as you please, on your individual responsibility alone.

Nor are there any 'groups' in Congress to which the allegiance of the individual member is pledged, as there are in the French Chamber of Deputies, with its groups of Buonapartists, Orleanists, Republicans, Socialists, Radicals, and the rest. It is true there are groups in the country at large, some of them dominating whole areas and sections of the population. There are, for example, the 'Populist' or Farmers' Party of the West, which for the relief of the farmers would water the currency by Free Silver, reduce the taxes on the land, and borrow from the Public Treasury at low rates of interest; the 'Single-tax' Party of Henry George, which would do just the opposite and throw *all* the taxes on the land; the 'Labour' Party which would nationalize the land, take over the railways, telegraphs, and other monopolies by the State, put a progressive tax on incomes, and limit the hours of labour; the 'Mugwumps,' the party of culture and respectability in New England and the East, who would reform the Civil Service, get rid of the Bosses and Rings and their attendant corruptions, and in a general way make Politics clean and pure again; and so on. Now although most of these groups have a large following in one or other section of the Union, it is to be observed that only as much of their programmes as can get affiliated or attached to one or other of the two great Party platforms on which the President is elected, can become a matter for the serious concern of Congress; and the consequence is, that Members who have strong personal convictions on any of these questions

rarely have an opportunity of expressing them in the House, for they have not as yet come within the range of Practical Politics; and so, except as mere academic exercises, are not seriously entertained there.

Or, again, should a Member have strong *personal* convictions on lesser and more restricted questions of Public Policy, as on education, on the drink question, on woman's suffrage, on the carrying of revolvers, or the employment of women in bar-rooms, or what not; or if he is returned for a constituency which holds strong views on these subjects; it will avail him little as a Member of Congress; for these are all matters which are dealt with by the Legislatures of the separate States, and not by Congress at all.

And the upshot of it all is, that a Member returned to Congress is in this position,—that on legislation which the People has decreed at the Presidential election, his course is already marked out for him, and he has practically no alternative but to follow it; while on the legislation which he or his constituents have at heart, he has no opportunity to give effect to his convictions. On nine-tenths, therefore, of all the questions that are likely to come before him as a Member of Congress, he is at liberty to vote as he pleases without violating the allegiance he owes either to his Party, his Group, or his Constituents. And when we remember further that he is elected only for two sessions; that the principle of equality demands that after a term or two, whatever his record may have been, he must make way for others; and that he is elected only to represent a particular corner of a particular State; that the chance of any Federal legislation affecting that particular corner during his term of office, is, as the chance of a particular thunderbolt striking a particular house in a particular town, practically *nil*;—it is evident that from the start, every barrier whether of party allegiance or political conviction that could stand in the way of his following his own self-interest and aggrandisement, has been cleared from his path.

And now what occurs? He has hardly taken his seat before he is appointed by the Speaker to sit on one or more 'Private Bill' committees, consisting each of a dozen or more members situated like himself. These committees are held in little rooms, with closed doors, the Press excluded, and the members sitting around a table listen only to such evidence for or against the bill in question as they are disposed to admit; while the Lobbyist, representing often vast moneyed interests to which the passage or not of the bill may be a matter of life or death, ranges up and down outside,—restless, anxious, watching his opportunity, and knowing his men,—and prepared to pay often enormous sums for the doubtful votes needed to turn the Report on the bill in its favour. And thus it is that the political machinery which in other lands is all so constructed that it shall tend to protect the individual from yielding to his own baser instincts and passions, is largely absent in this; and instead, we have every contrivance that could be devised to facilitate his yielding to them—the liberty to vote as he chooses in the absence of questions of party or of personal or political allegiance, his quick disappearance from the political stage, and the absence, in consequence, of a future to be compromised by his present action, the little social regard in which as a 'professional' politician he is held, his accountability only to constituents living in a small spot of a vast continent, his isolation, the lights turned down in the committee rooms, the mutual safeguards of secrecy, and the ease of approach of the Lobbyist whose gold he already feels burning his palms,—all these make it easier for him to submit to than to resist temptation; and if he fall, who can greatly wonder? Indeed, were it not for the slaughter made of these private bills by the veto of the President, which like the sword of Coriolanus, runs reeking over them like a perpetual spoil, the country would be given up to a brigandage, under the forms of and with the protection of the law, more universal than in the Middle Ages.

It is the same with the Legislatures of the separate States. There, too, all the great objects of legislation which the people have at heart have to be added as amendments to the Constitutions of these States, and so placed beyond the reach of their Legislatures, whose members in consequence, like the Congressmen, have little with which to fill up the time but the consideration of these same 'private bills'—usually bills conferring or witholding some franchise or charter by which individuals or corporations can make profit for themselves, but benefitting the community or not as the case may be; bills interfering with the government of the cities within the area of the State—and where 'deals' can be made between the Bosses of these cities on the one hand, and the caucus and wire-pullers of the Legislature on the other,—also good or bad for the community as the case may be. And here too, as in Congress, all the conditions for successful corruption are present and ready to be taken advantage of by whoever wills,—the small committee rooms, the Press excluded or the proceedings insufficiently reported, the quick rotation and short terms of the members, and the Lobbyists and Bosses outside with the Log-rollers inside, prepared to pay their price, and to pledge themselves to reciprocal good offices in the future.

What then is to be done to prevent these corruptions of Congress and the State Legislatures? One sees at once that the principle is so to alter the machinery as to let in more light everywhere, but it is probable that there is no plan which we can suggest which has not occurred over and over again to the Americans themselves;—plans either for letting in the light *before* the members get into these underground burrows of Committee rooms, or when they have got there. In the first case we would suggest that the bills in question should be considered in a general way by a large general committee, as in France, before being sent to the special committee, so that when the bill was afterwards reported to the House there would be a sufficient number of disinterested members with

some general knowledge of its character and merits to criticise it intelligently. This might help a little; but the natural solution would be to get rid of the illusion to begin with, that the members of Congress are engaged in National Legislation in the proper sense of the term. They are no more engaged in national legislation than a County Court Judge is; they are really engaged in the judicial or semi-judicial sifting of evidence, and in administrative recommendations or suggestions. In order, therefore, to let the light fully in upon the committee rooms they should be turned into judicial chambers; and instead of a dozen or more members sitting around a table admitting or rejecting evidence as they choose, and giving to it just what weight they choose, let them sit as a jury to hear the evidence on both sides, presented and argued by opposing counsel as in any other Court of Law;—with the doors open, the Press looking on and reporting the proceedings or not, as the case may be. This alone would go a long way in keeping the Report on the bill in a line with the real weight of the evidence, and for very decency would make members pause. And the consequence would be, that the bills now brought in,—three out of every four of which are strangled without being reported on, for fear of the veto of the President—would be still further reduced in number; and so the extra time required by the new arrangement would be more than compensated by the lessened amount of work to be done.

As for the State Legislatures,—let the people continue as now, namely to pack such legislative measures as they are fully agreed upon into their State Constitutions, where they will remain beyond the reach of the Legislature, until such time as the light has been fully let in upon the latter by the same or similar means as those which we have suggested in the case of Congress.

And now, leaving Congress and the State Legislatures, and proceeding a little farther down the slope below the snow-line, we come to the consideration of the State Judges and the

Judges of the Cities. And here again we shall find that the old and rotten plank,—the mania for Utopian Equality—has worked much mischief. Between 1812 and the outbreak of the Civil War, when this passion for equality burned most fiercely, the appointment of these judges, which until then with a single exception had been in the hands of the Governors of the States or of the State Legislatures, or of the Governors with the consent of their Councils, was transferred to the hands of the People themselves in nearly all the States, with the exception of the original Thirteen; and instead of the old tenure for life or during good behaviour, the office, except in three or four States, was granted only for an average of from eight to ten years. These Judges are in most cases miserably and inadequately paid; they are not drawn from the highest ranks of the Bar; are often nominated by Bosses and Rings on whose good graces they have then to depend for their re-election; and although kept wonderfully straight by the influence of the Federal Courts which exist beside them, by the Bar, and by Public Opinion, they are nevertheless an additional element favouring instability, corruption, or vulgarity in the State. But here, again, the remedy is obvious, and scarcely needs pointing out, namely to make the office more dignified and respectable by selecting the best men and paying them better salaries, to let them be again appointed by the Governor of the State with or without the concurrence of the Legislature or Council, and above all, to do what nothing but the mania for equality or a preternatural fear of tyranny could have undone, namely to let the tenure of their office be for life or during good behaviour, as before.

And this brings us at last to the marsh at the foot of the mountain,—namely to the corruptions of City Government and to the more notorious despotism of the Boss and the Ring, on which we have already enlarged in the previous chapter. And here again only a minimum of organic change in existing institutions is necessary; all that is wanted being, first, to let

in the light of Public Opinion on a machinery which although ostensibly open to the light is practically almost in darkness; secondly, to stop the eternal rotation of the election wheels which has the same blinding effect on the electors as darkness; and thirdly, to release the individual in all municipal affairs from those Federal Party-ties which compel him in this darkness to march to the poll and to vote for whatever lists of candidates the Boss—as the head of the Federal Party organization of the City—chooses to nominate. Holding fast, then, to these three principles, we should begin our operations by throwing down the walls of the innumerable hole-and-corner nominating booths in the back parlours of public houses and elsewhere, at the doors of which the Boss by stationing a small contingent of his ragged regiment (just sufficient to turn the polling in favour of his own nominees), is enabled like another Napoleon to conquer the city in general by conquering it first in detail;—let the walls of these election rookeries be thrown down, so that the light of Public Opinion may fall full and flush on the whole voting area. And for this purpose the Members of the City Council, instead of being nominated separately by the little ward divisions, should be nominated in two opposite batches by the whole City, after having put forward their respective programmes on a purely Municipal and not, as at present, on a Federal Party basis. For the differences between these Federal Parties having no bearing whatever on Municipal needs, to make them the basis of Municipal Politics is a confounding of categories, and is as illogical and indefensible as if men were seriously to propose to choose their lawyers or their shoemakers by the colour of their hair! And the better to effect this divorce of Municipal from Federal Party Politics, the elections should be held separately and at a different time of the year; while to keep out all foreign intrusion, the Legislature of the State, which now interposes and joins hands with the Bosses, should be ruled out of all interference with the government of cities.

For these large cities, it is scarcely necessary to observe, are no longer infants or minors, but are practically full-grown States in themselves, and require no interference with their domestic concerns. Such small and occasional supervision as may be necessary can safely be left to the Governor of the State to exercise through his veto; while such general limitations of municipal autonomy as are necessary for the public security, should be made a definite part of the Constitution of the State, and so be placed beyond the reach of Caucuses, wire-pullers or Bosses. In this way Public Opinion, which cannot penetrate the recesses of bar-parlours, would be able so to flood the persons of the candidates, their records, and their respective programmes with its light, that the City Councillors elected on definite municipal issues, and confined to their purely legislative functions, would be kept steady to their election pledges, while the office of Councillor itself, now become dignified and respectable, would attract a better class of citizens.

The Mayor, too, as head of the Executive department of the City, should be elected by the same general vote as the Councillors, and should be allowed to choose his own chiefs of departments, precisely in the same way as the President of the United States chooses his. In this way he would be able to avail himself of their practical experience of the wants of city life, and would find their advice of value in guiding him to the judicious exercise of his veto when, or if, it became necessary in the interests of the City to oppose the proposals of the City Council.

But above all, and in order to moderate the rapid succession of elections and to give time for gaining experience, the tenure of all the higher municipal offices should be for much longer terms; while all office holders below the chiefs of departments should as far as possible be converted into permanent staffs, holding for lengthened terms, or for life, on condition of efficiency and good behaviour. But there are innumerable petty offices

with which, owing to the swift revolutions of the election wheels, no Public Opinion can attempt to keep pace, or would if it could; to the holders of these, therefore, fixity of tenure should be given as far as is convenient; while as for the Federal offices in the city, as many of them as possible should be the reward, not of Party services, but of proficiency in Civil Service examinations; and to all should be given a reasonable fixity of tenure, on condition, again, of efficiency and good behaviour.

Meanwhile, and until the new and purified City Government had time to get itself established, it would help to prevent collusion and to neutralise the power of the Boss, if special separate boards, independently elected by the citizens, were given authority to look after special departments of city business, in the same way as the School Boards are in London; and especially should this be done where scandals have been most rife—as for example, special Boards of Finance elected by the tax-payers to check the piling up of city debts for purposes of jobbery, a special Police Board to check collusion between publicans, prostitutes, and criminals, and the police, and so on.

By the above or some other analogous scheme, the light of Public Opinion (which is the essential point) might be made to penetrate into every department of City Government; the Executive and Legislative bodies, each with full responsibility and in the open daylight, would be able to control their own subordinates, and to check or supplement each other; while on the other hand, where the light cannot, owing to the rapidity of rotation and the pettiness of the offices, directly fall, fixity of tenure and the direct responsibility of the holders of these offices to their superiors,—who are themselves in the full glare of Public Opinion,—would be practically sufficient to check all the grosser forms of bribery and corruption.

An alternative scheme would be to divide the City into large districts, which, like the new Boroughs in London, would be sufficiently illumined by the Local Press,—each of these districts to have its own Mayor and local Council for its own local

concerns, but with a central body like the London County Council for attending to the more general needs of the City as a whole, and in its power of interference with the local Councils taking the place of the State Legislature. But of either the positive or relative value of these or any other schemes for making Public Opinion effective, it would of course be impertinent for a stranger even to profess to have an assured opinion. They have been introduced here rather as illustrations or studies intended to bring out the *principles* on which schemes of Practical Statesmanship must be constructed if they are to follow the Evolution of Civilization in general and of each country in particular, than as having any dogmatic or authoritative pretensions in themselves. But it may be observed in passing, that one of the standing difficulties in the way of the success of these or any other schemes for getting rid of the Boss, the Lobbyist, and the Log-roller—and therefore of the machinery which keeps them alive,—is the secret favour with which their function is regarded by the great Corporations, and by the Magnates of this new age of Industrial Development. The original machinery of Equality, as we saw in the last chapter, is rather a hindrance than a help to the organization, concentration, and extension of great Industrial concerns. It is much harder for the undertakers of these industrial designs to persuade in detail a number of separate and independent voters to fall in with their designs, than it is to deal directly, and for a lump sum, with a Boss or representative who can control and guarantee beforehand the outcome of their votes; and so long as this remains so, and at the same time so long as Industrial Concentration and Development are a necessity of progress, and the original machinery of *natural* equality cannot be altered except by an entire remodelling of the Constitution itself, so long will the present machinery of what we have called *utopian* equality, which has produced and sustained the Boss and the Lobbyist, be likely to continue.

And this leads us naturally to the problem of those great

Corporations and Trusts, those gigantic combinations of Capital, which characterise the new development of Industry, with the millionaires and multi-millionaires that follow in their train. Now in dealing with these, two principles are to be kept in view and acted upon. The first is a principle which runs through all life and organization whatever; namely that there must be an equality or *balance* between concentration and diffusion, whereby each shall be so checked and controlled by the other that both are indispensable. This is seen, for example, in the Central Brain on the one hand and the myriads of nerve-endings on the surface of the body, on the other; the one supplying the material of experience, the other organizing it; in the Heart, where for health, the concentration of blood must be balanced by its equal diffusion through the capillary circulation; in Political Economy, where Production must be balanced by the pecuniary power of individuals to keep up Consumption, on pain of gluts and stagnation; in Government, where condensed Public Opinion at the seat of Authority is balanced by the same opinion expressing itself in detail among the body of the people; in Philosophy, where the great generalizations at the centre must keep time with and balance the innumerable fluctuating and varying facts which they co-ordinate, and on which they depend for their solidity and truth. It is the same, too, with Industry, where vast concentrations and organizations of Capital to be healthy, must be met and balanced by a parallel organization of the separate workers who produce it; in other words, Trades-Unions must advance *pari passu* with Trusts, and be their healthy balance and counterpoise;—all dislocations or stoppages which cannot be naturally adjusted, owing to some kink in the machinery by which one side gets the other at an angle where it can block its healthy activity, becoming dangerous to the State, and having to be released from the *impasse* by special legislation. In America, such occasional legislation would naturally be made one of the planks in the platform of

a Presidential Election, or, if the matter covered a limited area, added in the form of an amendment to the Constitution of the State; but if once some general law could be discovered by which the difficulty could be controlled, the *moralization* of Trusts necessary for the national well-being would have to be effected by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States itself. For America, unlike England, has never been a slave to Laissez-faire—a fetish of Nineteenth Century English Statesmen as sacred as the parallel fetish of American Statesmen, Utopian Equality—and if from the passion for abstract equality violent hands could be laid on the Constitution in order to give a vote to the Negro, it may well be amended for the *moralization* of Industries which affect the real material well-being, the homes and the happiness of millions of white men.

But what of the millionaires and multi-millionaires who naturally follow this Industrial Concentration and Development? This introduces us to our second principle, namely, that wherever the interval between one class and another becomes so great that the gap cannot be bridged by ability or virtue, Caste is formed; and the characteristic of Caste is, as we saw in a former chapter, that the individuals comprising it take their stand not on ability, energy, or character, but on certain external marks common to its members (it matters little what) and easily recognisable as separating them from the rest of mankind; with the result that if you make the gap wide enough and keep it open long enough, you may end at the point already reached in the East, where the climax has been touched by the Grand Lama of Thibet,—not only whose every thought and word, but every function of whose body is sacred! At whatever cost therefore, these vast Money-intervals, with the tyranny they are capable of exercising over individuals, and the false ideals they diffuse through Society, must be abated, or coerced into some reasonable relation to the ability expended in producing or maintaining them. It is a fine affectation of

these Magnates to pay almost princely salaries to their managers, and to complain of the great difficulty of getting competent ones at any price; plainly hinting that if the ability required by their managers, even to carry out their designs, be so transcendent, what must their own be! I am told that it is chiefly the Working-men in America who have been most dazzled into crediting these multi-millionaires with this incomparable genius. But if they will consider it, after a certain point is reached, it is not Ability as such that is the initiating cause of new industrial enterprises and designs, but Capital as such—which, when it is sufficient in quantity and can be freely handled, always finds marked out for itself beforehand, as it were, in every direction, the next steps or stages of industrial evolution and development. It is a fiction this of the transcendent ability of these men, and is intended to impress the working classes with their own inferiority; like the ability attributed to the Statesmen of the hour—a belief in whom indeed is necessary to keep parties together, but whose fabled genius, in the case of the best of them, you may see dismantled within a decade, while the rank-and-file may consider themselves happy, if, like Hamlet's father, their fame 'outlives their life half a year!' Although therefore the working men may have to submit to the tyranny which these vast incomes involve, let them keep an even mind; and neither be subdued into imagining on the one hand, that these are the great of the earth either in penetration or aught else; nor on the other, imagine with the Labour-time Socialists that they—the myriad-handed workers—are the sole producers of all this wealth that has fallen into the hands of the few.

But the stimulus given to Industry by the contemplation of these vast fortunes, is that not to be considered? To which we would reply, that the work of the world has not been arrested since the time of the Egyptian Kings because none since they have had pyramids as tombs; and if Shakespeare only received ten pounds for his plays, and could complain that he

had to walk about among men as a kind of vagabond or outcast; if Napoleon after his fall, was believed to have lost his genius with his star; who will credit that either the colossal genius of these millionaires will survive their fortunes in the minds of men, or that the work of the world will cease if they are not paid for their services in millions, instead of thousands, hundreds, or tens?

But it is probable that as the century advances,—and when once these great Industrial undertakings have become part of the ordinary landscape of American life,—it may be considered wise as a matter of simple business, and not as part of a Socialist utopia, to take over all those processes whether of Production, Transport, or Exchange, which have become a mere routine, by the municipality or the State; or so to subject the whole machinery to State Control, that the excess of these mammoth fortunes may go naturally to the Inventors and Organizers on the one hand, and the Workmen on the other. For although America is less inclined to Socialism at the present moment than any other country in the world, none, owing to the rapidity of Industrial Concentration on the one hand and the intelligence of the people on the other, is in reality nearer to its practical business realisation; Agricultural Socialism, on the other hand, never being likely to be entertained.

It may seem strange to the reader that I have not alluded to the Negro Question in this survey. I have purposely avoided it, as it affects primarily the Southern States, and only in a secondary degree the rest of the Union; and to avoid complexity, I have deliberately left the Southern States out of the purview of this study of America. But this principle I will venture to lay down, that with the experience which the world now possesses of the effects of mixing antagonistic races on the same soil,—when these races from the nature of things cannot and will not amalgamate, and when at the same time it is not intended that one should be politically controlled by the other;—any man or class of men who, for purposes of private

gain or exploitation, or in order to utilise the labour of the inferior race for the purpose of depressing wages, abets or aids in this, must be held as anathema, and as above all others guilty of supreme treason to the State, leaving behind a memory which the after ages must execrate;—as Americans may well execrate the memory of George III. and his Ministers, who interfered to prevent them abolishing Slavery, as they wished to do, while it was yet time.

And now a last word in reference to the present form of Government in America,—by the direct and immediate agency of what is called Public Opinion. Of this we may say in the first place, that in a country like America where all the great ends for which Government exists are already safeguarded by the Constitution, the People although apt to fall, as we have seen, into illusion and error when new and unfamiliar problems and issues are sprung on them suddenly and without due time for deliberation, nevertheless recover themselves so quickly under experience, that on the whole they may be said to be the best possible judges of what their own circumstances and situations require. As Abraham Lincoln said, 'you can fool all the people part of the time, and part of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time.' But there is this also to be said, that although it might appear that in this direct rule of the People through the agency of Public Opinion, each man contributes his original and independent judgment in the formation of the policy of the country, in the same way as he afterwards does in its ratification by his vote,—it is not really so. For strictly considered, the Public Opinion which initiates a policy is really the opinion of a comparatively few individuals; but it is confounded with general or 'public opinion' because it is the opinion not of any one class, but of a medley of people variously related and compounded, with no necessary exclusions, and embracing the points of view of the leaders of different classes, sections, and interests, never twice alike. If it be a political question, for example, Public Opinion

would be the opinion of a complex of the leading Editors of the Party, of a few leading Senators or State and City Bosses, Governors of States, and always,—as America is an industrial country,—of a few Industrial Magnates, heads of great Corporations, leading Bankers, and business men generally, or of those immediately in touch with them—and all trimmed, moulded, harmonised, and given expression to by the Press. But as these, on any large Federal question, would not number perhaps more than one in a thousand or ten thousand of those who would afterwards vote with them, it is evident that the rule of the People through Public Opinion is never a mob rule in the strict sense of the term,—especially when time has been given for discussion,—but only perhaps where questions are suddenly sprung on the nation requiring instant decision, and on which the passions are apt to be easily aroused. And it is to prevent these ebullitions, and to keep the People steady and well in hand as it were, that Party vigilance and discipline are, as we have seen, so strong.

I had intended at one time to go over the other States of Europe in detail—in the same way as I have here gone over England, France, and America,—but enough will I trust have been attempted in these three studies, to enforce the main contention which in this volume I have sought to make good, and with which I started out,—namely of how differently the different problems of Practical Politics have to be handled when once the Evolution of Civilization in general, and of each nation in particular, is made the Political Bible of States.

END OF VOLUME III.

OF

HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT.

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